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Cardiac
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Monday March 11 1996

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Bulgaria B 1.00	Jordan J 1.25	Slovenia S 1.00
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The Guardian

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Roundheads vs Cavaliers

G2 with European weather



Why do we so love our hounds?

Dog days

G2 page 4



Dirty tricks from the Tory press

Media

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Butcher of the Drina bridge

Ed Vulliamy in Sarajevo identifies the leader of a gang of Serbian killers who turned a Bosnian river into blood

BOSNIA'S most celebrated monument — the Drina bridge at Visegrad — made famous by a Nobel Prize-winning novel — was turned into a slaughterhouse by a mass murderer who is identified by the Guardian today.

Unknown to the outside world, and unindicted by the war crimes tribunal in The Hague, Milan Lukic was the leader of a gang of Serbian killers who unleashed an orgy of violence against Muslims in Visegrad during the first months of the war, in the spring and summer of 1992.

His victims numbered hundreds if not thousands, most of them stabbed and mutilated on the gracious Ottoman bridge, and fired on after being hurled into the river. During that period, 14,000

Muslims were killed or ousted from the mountain town.

The Bridge on The Drina is the title of a literary masterpiece by Bosnia's greatest author, Ivo Andric, in which the glorious structure is cast as a backdrop and silent witness to Bosnia's history.

Visegrad was also the site for a hitherto unknown Serbian concentration camp for Muslims. Captives were held in two giant hangars at the Uzamnica military barracks, from which busloads of men were taken towards Serbia and never seen again. Some are believed to be working as slaves in a Serbian mine.

Details of the slaughter of Muslims in the Drina valley, which runs through eastern Bosnia, have been largely

hidden for the war's duration.

But in August 1994, a Serbian soldier held prisoner in Muslim Gorazde secretly testified to Milan Lukic's bloodlust. The prisoner was released in an exchange and now cannot be found. But the Guardian has reconstructed the full story of the carnage in Visegrad, and of Lukic's part in it, finding witnesses across Bosnia and Europe.

They describe how he would drive his stolen red Volkswagen Passat ahead of a convoy of other cars and trucks on to the bridge each evening, when the killing would begin.

A witness who lived just above the bridge, Fabida D. said: "We saw them by day or by the city lights, whether

they were killing men, women or children. It took half an hour, sometimes more."

The Guardian has also traced Muslim soldiers whose work it was to haul the corpses out of the water down river from Visegrad. They confirm that infants were among the dead. "We dug the graves and buried 180 people," Jasmin R said. "Some I knew personally, they had been my neighbours."

The Bosnian government calculates that about one in 20 bodies was probably salvaged.

There were other massacre methods. Witnesses testify how Lukic would lock men, women and children inside houses and incinerate them. On two occasions, he and his

gang held up convoys of buses transporting Muslims out of Visegrad, took out the men and executed them.

One witness, Hasena M, watched her mother and sister murdered on the bridge, but escaped with her two daughters before being imprisoned in Uzamnica, a new name to add to the list of concentration camps in Bosnia.

The camp was established in two hangars at the local barracks complex, after the Uzici corps of the Yugoslav army, which had armed and sanctioned the carnage, had left Visegrad. Women and children were kept in one hangar, men in the other.

Uzamnica was a forced labour camp, with captives working in local factories, farmyards

and orchards.

Beatings and torture were common, mainly in the male hangar from which, Hasena M said, prisoners could hear screams every night. There was occasional rape in the women's quarters.

Lukic was a regular visitor, joining in the beatings at will. He vowed that "women prisoners will not be killed, only the men".

At irregular intervals, male inmates would be bussed away, never to be seen again. Some women prisoners say they were driven in the direction of the Serbian border. Bosnian government officials believe some are being kept as slave workers in a mining complex called Aleksinac, deep within Serbia.

Officials believe the prisoners have been given false Serbian names to foil Red Cross investigations.

Lukic is now believed to be back in Obrenovac, Serbia, where he worked as a cafe manager. Inquiries after him at the Viski Bar are met with a stony glare charged with menace, and not sensibly challenged.

But there has been one ominous sighting. A Muslim soldier from Zepa, present at the fall of the enclave in 1995, said he saw Lukic patrolling the columns of men as they lined up to surrender. Lukic was shouting: "Anyone from Visegrad step out of the line! Anyone from Visegrad."

Bloody trail, page 7



THE Williams-Renault driver, Damon Hill (left) concedes his new teammate Jacques Villeneuve after riding his luck to victory in yesterday's Australian Grand Prix as the Formula One season got off to a dramatic start in Melbourne.

Only an oil leak prevented Villeneuve, the reigning IndyCar champion, from winning his maiden grand prix, after he led most of the way, while the Englishman Martin Brundle walked away from a car which was in two pieces after a spectacular crash on the race's first lap.

"I am sure you could argue Jacques was the moral winner," admitted Hill after equalling his late father, Graham's, total of 14 wins. "But he knows motor racing. This happens. Jacques decided after getting a message from the pits that the oil pressure was going and he might not finish the race. But people paid to come here and see a motor race and they got one."

The Williams duo delighted the 154,000 Albert Park crowd with a thrilling battle, but only after Hill had benefited from a restart caused by Brundle's accident, having slipped from second

to fourth on the opening lap.

"I made a complete pig's ear of the start," said Hill. Having maintained his position on the restart, the Dublin-based driver still had to be content with the occasional strike at Villeneuve's lead. Villeneuve settled for second — with Eddie Irvine a distant third in his first outing for Ferrari — having fended off every Hill attack until advised to slow down.

PHOTOGRAPH: MARK BAKER

Richard Williams page 12

Howard concedes sentence package will need more jails

Alan Travis and Clare Dyer

AN extensive prison building programme will be needed for Michael Howard's US-style sentencing package, the Home Secretary conceded yesterday.

The scale of the programme — on top of the six prisons already planned at a cost of £380 million — is being fiercely contested by the Treasury and the Home Office.

"If we are to have minimum mandatory sentences for persistent burglars and for traffickers in hard drugs then we will need an increase in prison accommodation," Mr Howard said.

Penal experts have estimated that this proposal alone could add 6,500 inmates to the 58,000 in prison now. This would require 16 more prisons at a cost of \$60 million each.

The Prison Service is already taking emergency measures to cope with overcrowding problems triggered by the Home Secretary's "prison works" policy.

Mr Howard refused to discuss the details yesterday but confirmed that an official estimate will be included in a white paper on sentencing to be published soon. Legislation is promised for the autumn but it is clear that the cost need not be met until after the general election.

The Home Secretary confirmed that it was the proposal for minimum sentences for repeat burglars and drug traffickers which was most

likely to fill the jails. The plans to introduce "two strikes and you're out" life sentences for repeat rapists and to reduce remission from 50 to 15 per cent were unlikely to increase prison numbers to a similar extent.

Mr Howard's admission supported the claim last week by the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Taylor, that the new sentencing package would be no more than "a bonanza for prison architects".

The constitutional clash between the Home Secretary and the senior judiciary started to take a vicious turn over the weekend with Mr Howard's supporters in the press claiming that judges were "only lawyers in extremely dodgy clothing" and that many had been brought up on the permissive notions of the 1960s and 1970s.

Mr Howard himself was in no mood yesterday to make

concessions to the senior judges or other critics and went as far as to claim that his policy of automatic life sentences for repeat rapists and attempted murderers would spare 40 to 50 victims a year of recently released violent offenders.

Judges with the option to pass a discretionary life sentence on convicted rapists or violent offenders who reoffended had done so in only 10 per cent of cases. "So 90 per of those who have committed a second serious violent or sexual offence are released at present, even if everybody knows they are likely to go out and commit a third rape or a third serious wounding or a third robbery."

During an interview on BBC TV's Frost on Sunday, the Home Secretary went on to dismiss the Lord Chief Justice's argument that an auto-

turn to page 3, column 4

Second accident heightens fears on rail safety

Pace of sell-off 'forced through regardless of cost to the public'

Edward Pilkington and Keith Harper

FEARS over the safety of a privatised railway network grew yesterday as details emerged of a further derailment of a freight train at the weekend, while ministers denied claims they were taking risks by forcing the pace of the sell-off.

A freight train carrying up to 1,200 tonnes of liquid polystyrene was derailed near Wakefield early on Saturday, just three hours after the fatal accident near Stafford in which one person died and 22 were injured. Three carriages of a train travelling from Baglan Bay,

South Wales, to Stalybridge, near Manchester, became derailed at 2am on Saturday as they were being manoeuvred through a marshalling yard. The carriages were put back on the rails in a 12-hour operation believed to have cost about £50,000.

The Wakefield derailment is the second incident to be set against the record of the American-based company, Wisconsin Central Transportation Corporation, or WCTC, since it bought British Rail's freight service two weeks ago. The coincidence of the accident so soon after the Stafford crash is likely to heighten anxieties about safety standards under privatisation, with WCTC's record already



under scrutiny in the United States and New Zealand. Loadhaul, which operates in the North-east and is one of three privatised freight companies owned by WCTC, in-

sisted there had been no risk of polystyrene leaking from the derailed train. "There was no danger," a spokesman said.

However, there were concerns that the accident occurred close to a river, which could have suffered environmental damage if any of the liquid cargo had been discharged.

The Government faced new allegations, at the weekend that the pace of its rail privatisation programme was threatening safety.

The claims came after confirmation that the Government is accelerating its privatisation plans in a leaked document from Roger Salmon, the rail franchising director.

He has told ministers that all but four of the 25 private passenger operating companies will be running by the

end of next February. Two have so far been sold off. These are Great Western Trains and South West Trains, which are now operated by the bus company, Stagecoach.

Labour's transport spokeswoman, Clare Short, said: "The Government is taking risks with our transport system and making contracts to sell the railways regardless of the cost to the taxpayer and travelling public. Tory policy is being driven by the reckless obsession to sell off the network as quickly as possible."

News of the second derailment came as accident investigators sifted through the wreckage of two trains in the Stafford crash late on Friday night. It is understood that investigators have identified the cause of the crash as a fractured axle in a wagon of

the southbound freight train, which became derailed and was struck by a northbound Royal Mail locomotive.

By last night most of the wagons and debris had been cleared away, although the Royal Mail engine remained embedded in an embankment as emergency workers struggled to dislodge it.

Staffordshire police named the man who died in the crash as John Thomson, aged 57, who was married and lived in Booth, Ayrshire. His son, also called John, was with him on the mail train when the accident happened.

The driver of that train, Graham Massey, aged 50, from Crewe, is likely to remain in hospital for six weeks with a fractured pelvis, broken leg and lacerations to his hands and face.

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Sketch

Lib Dem leader in cyberspace



Michael White

WITH the evocative but imperfectly typed words "Yes, online and ready to go..." Paddy Ashdown made British political history last night when he became the first party leader in the nation's long history to debate with ordinary voters on the Internet.

son of the late Stanley Unwin. Conservative MPs, who are already marking down last night's Guardian Live Wire debate as another reason to hate Mr Ashdown, will not be surprised to learn that gays in the army and the Newbury bypass were the most popular topics among the 320 questions submitted. A touch parochial for a global hook-up.

"Given your background where do you stand in respect of gays in the armed forces?" Lee Tomlinson asked the ex-Marine. "One of the best and bravest soldiers I have ever had the privilege to serve with wrote to me 10 years ago telling me he was gay. Some of the finest generals, admirals and soldiers we have had..." replied the ex-Marine.

The next questioner asked if Mr Ashdown was "planning to form an alliance with Tony Blair." In the old-fashioned steam-driven Commons there would have been a cruel homophobic laugh from the Tory benches. Here, nothing but the gentle sound of Mr Ashdown saying "No before realising he'd better give the bog-standard 'no deals' line."

Review

Two trumps for a busted Lush

Dave Simpson

Lush Brighton Beach, Leeds THE hardest thing in pop is to shake off an album. Lush have done it twice. Until recently, the Camden foursome were indie rock's Zsa Zsa Gabor, famous for being famous, because of something nobody could quite remember.

most be the source of some sweet revenge, and Lush's forthcoming album, Lovellife, is already being talked of as among the year's best. The extent of Lush's rehabilitation can be judged by their invitation to appear at the North's exclusive Britpop/Mod club Brighton Beach. They unveiled the deceptively bright pop of their re-emergence, with the chunky riffs and New Wave Duane Eddy swang of 300 and Heroic.

Tories all but paralysed as financier sets tough terms for calling off Referendum Party election threat

Goldsmith turns the screw

Michael White Political Editor

SIR James Goldsmith's terms for calling off the Referendum Party's threat to Tory seats at the next general election are that John Major must promise to convene a Speaker's Conference to decide the question to be asked, and to stage the referendum on election day in 1997.

the billionaire financier today makes it plain that a plebiscite on a single European currency alone, which Mr Major is poised to concede, will not satisfy his demands. He has bought full-page advertisements in four London papers, including the Guardian. But his exact terms, being privately conveyed to Downing Street by friendly Tories, have not previously emerged. They are certain to be unacceptable.

Mr Finkelstein's letter, dated Wednesday, made no reference to this shift. "The party machine put us on notice in February to expect a letter telling us the party line. It didn't materialise because various drafts were going round the Cabinet, a long rambling version, and a short version," one disgruntled ex-minister said last night.

In another unsettling move, hours after Lady Thatcher attacked the debate on Europe's currency and internal relations as a distraction from real global problems, her former lieutenant and party chairman, Lord Parkinson, said on GMTV that cabinet ministers should be allowed to disagree publicly in the referendum campaign, as Labour ministers were in 1975.

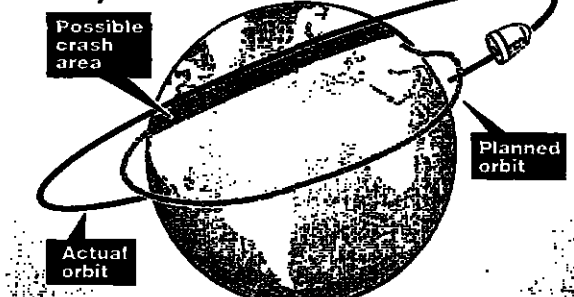
Michael Portillo's friends say he might not even fight for the right to campaign on a No vote. While Labour has kept its internal Euro-battles under control, Tory MPs are as divided as ever. "The main reason for having a referendum is that the Crazies would lose and the Sensibles would win. And Michael Portillo would do as he was told," one Major loyalist predicted.

claims to have 400 candidates and plans to stage its party conference in Brighton the week after Mr Major's own pre-election conference in October. It threatens to run challengers in every seat where neither the Labour nor Tory candidate is committed to a referendum. In today's adverts, Sir James demands a referendum, not on what he calls "the technical aspect" of the debate — moves towards a single currency from 1999 — but what he regards as the fundamental issue: the "family of nations" vision of Europe versus the "single European superstate".

Spectacular lessons of crowded night sky

FSW1's path

FSW1 orbits the Earth once every 93 minutes, following a slightly different course each time. It crosses Britain and Ireland four or five times a day



SATELLITE: Oak-tipped junk from China bears message for environment

Tim Radford Science Editor

A ONE-TON Chinese spy satellite poised to plunge to Earth within the next 48 hours could be a messenger of things to come. If the United States and Europe follow the advice in Lady Thatcher's speech in Fulton, Missouri, as she spoke on Saturday of the need for anti-ballistic missile defence networks to protect against rogue governments, a rogue "earth observation" satellite was skipping every 90 minutes on the surface of the atmosphere like a stone on a millpond.

and North America and many thousands of miles of empty ocean south of the Equator. FSW1 was almost certainly intended to be brought back to Earth in one piece so that analysts could recover film from cameras on board. Something went wrong: a rocket-firing kicked it into unusual orbit where it was spotted by the US defence network. At first the Chinese authorities denied it was theirs. Then they admitted responsibility. Cynics in the defence industry point out that under UN rules, satellites that "drop in" must be returned to the original owner.



Fit Lt Fitz Muse of RAF Fylingdales, North Yorkshire, tracking the route over Europe of the Chinese satellite (pictured below) that is expected to fall to earth tomorrow

stuck together," said Mr Crowther. "The big concern is how the orbital environment will evolve over the next 30 or 40 years. You are going to get collisions. Each collision will produce say 2,000 fragments. Each one of those fragments can then go on and destroy another satellite and produce another 2,000 fragments. You will end up with almost like a belt of debris similar to Saturn's rings, but it won't just be around the Equator, it will enclose the whole Earth."

Any attempt to establish a comprehensive anti-missile system of the kind first proposed by President Reagan in 1983 will require a huge observation network. This means more satellites, and more launchers in the same orbits. At orbit speeds, even the tiniest fragments are dangerous. Around 30 windows have had to be replaced on the US space shuttle after encounters with tiny flakes of paint. Urine ditched by astronauts in the 1960s was recovered in

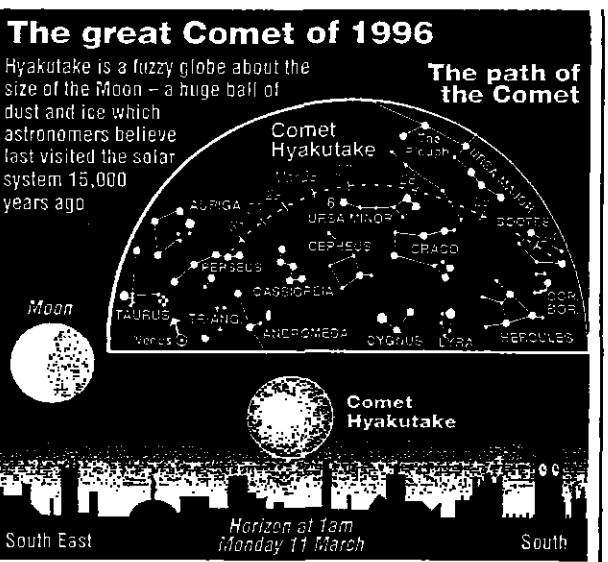
1994 from deep within the experimental fabric of a European spacecraft. "People in the past used to dump stuff in the sea, imagining it was such a vast expanse there was no way it could ever come back and harm you. But now we see that it is very finite, and the same thing is happening with space," Mr Crowther said. "The lesson is that we must recognise we have to manage the space environment in the same way that we are learning to do with the terrestrial."



COMET: 15,000-year comeback in a blaze of glory or a hazy flop

Tim Radford

IT SNEAKED into the night sky as a pinpoint of light on the south-east horizon very early today and within a fortnight it will be a mere 10 million miles from the Earth. Comet Hyakutake — discovered by a Japanese amateur astronomer only in January — will swell to a radiant blob the size of the full moon and could become the spectacle of the decade.



"It is going to get very close from a cometary standpoint, and therefore the actual comet gets spread out over a large area of the sky. This makes it very difficult to see. The problem with comets is that you are not looking at a stellar point source, you are looking at a diffuse source of light." Hyakutake will be on the way to making the second "closest" approach so far recorded. It is expected to be at its most visible after March 22, as it moves towards the Pole Star.

Comets are lumps of ice and dust and rock that may be remnants of the early solar system. They live in strange orbits and often appear unexpectedly. Hyakutake's last visit is thought to have been 15,000 years ago. As they accelerate towards and away from the sun, the solar wind blows the loosely packed material into the spectacular tail associated with comets. But astronomers this weekend were being guarded. Recent visitors have been dis-

appointing. Comet Kohoutek in the 1970s was supposed to light up the night sky. Hardy anyone saw it. Comet Halley's last visit in the 1900s was no more than a demure appearance. In 1984, Comet Shoemaker-Levy 9 streamed into Jupiter in a cosmic fireworks display that was almost invisible from Earth. But Comet Hale-Bopp, discovered last year by two US observers, could be a more obvious spectacle in the evening sky in September, and again as it moves away from the sun early next year. One report suggests that it might be 25,000 times brighter than Halley. "The fact that it was seen so early is a good hint, but comets are nothing if not unpredictable," said Dr Hughes. He was the expert who proposed that scientists would learn "between now and bugger-all" from the Shoemaker-Levy event. "It's quite obvious that if you want to learn about a comet, the last thing you do is slam into it with Jupiter at 150,000 miles an hour," he said yesterday. He is involved in the European Space Agency's 2003 spectacular called the Rosetta mission. It will launch an unmanned orbiter carrying two probes to meet one of a choice of short-period comets and travel with them, firing probes into the nucleus to see what they are made of.

Lifeboat service still tops charity bequests with more than £38m

David Brindle, Social Services Correspondent

MORE money is left in wills to the lifeboat service than to any other charity, a survey showed yesterday. The Royal National Lifeboat Institution still attracts more legacy income than any other. The survey, based on chari-

ties' latest accounts, shows the RNLI received £38.4 million from legacies in 1994. This represented 59 per cent of its income for the year, though the figure was down from £40 million in 1993. The second and third biggest legacy beneficiaries are the Imperial Cancer Research Fund and the Cancer Research Campaign, followed by the National Trust.

George Burns leaves fans laughing as final curtain falls

Ian Katz in New York

AS FRIENDS and colleagues competed to offer the most glowing tribute to the comic legend George Burns, millions of his fellow Americans yesterday mourned his passing the way he would have wanted — in stitches of laughter. In bars and living rooms across the country, three generations of Burns fans

swapped his most memorable one-liners. They recalled his 98th birthday party in Las Vegas, when he remarked: "It's nice to be here. At 98, it's nice to be anywhere." They chortled over his repeated insistence that he could not die because he was "booked", and his observation that in the later years of his life he got "a standing ovation just for standing". He died at his Beverly Hills

home at 10am on Saturday with his manager, Irving Fein, his son Ronnie Burns, and his housekeeper at his side, less than two months after celebrating his 100th birthday. "There was no pain," said Mr Fein. Burns never fully recovered from a 1994 fall. He cancelled performances at the London Palladium meant to celebrate his century in January, but characteristically said: "What do you give a

man who's been so blessed? Another 100 years? A night with Sharon Stone?" Almost till the end, he insisted on drinking two Martinis and smoking up to 15 cigars a day. He was not afraid of dying, he said. "When you die, you're dead... I don't think there's an audience where I'm going. But I think I'll take along my music just in case." **Obituary, page 10**

Advertisement for Alliance Française. Text includes: "What's the difference between us and other French teachers?", "We offer business class.", "Alliance Française de Londres, 1 Dorset Square, London NW1 6PU. Sponsored by the French Government."

Internet petition aims to persuade French government to block 'yuppie' development



At risk... 2 Rue Montbuisson. Nin's 'laboratory of the soul'



Henry Miller: Nin's lover and literary muse

Battle to save Nin's house of love and lust

Alex Duval Smith in Louveciennes

CHIC commentators in Louveciennes like to think of their village rather as Anais Nin described it when she lived there in 1931: a place "left intact by modern life".

They appear keen to suppress thoughts of what went on the rest of the week in the Louveciennes house where the writer lived between 1930 and 1936, and where she launched her career.

At 2 Rue Montbuisson, Nin could be found engaging in sex romps with Henry Miller; her husband, Hugo Guiler; her cousin Edouardo; or her Peruvian lover, Gonzalo. That is, when she was not juggling after Miller's wife, June.

Campaigners who wish to save the crumbling villa in Rue Montbuisson — uninhabited, except by squatters, for the last 15 years — claim France is exercising undue prudishness.

The battle to save the 18th century hunting lodge from being sold to developers has been taken up on the Internet by an American antiques dealer, Barbara Ann Sapp, and a British law student, Omar McDoom. Today they are putting a petition on their

web site, <http://www.dol.com/Nin/>, in the hope that supporters will bombard French decision-makers.

Ms Sapp, aged 22, said yesterday: "The French authorities think of Nin only as Miller's mistress and refuse to take her seriously. It does not help that she wrote in English, even though she was born in France. But all we are asking from the French state is that it should object to a developer buying the house."

This would give campaigners time to raise up to £200,000 to purchase the home which Nin called her "laboratory of the soul". It would be turned into a cultural centre where modern writers in the Hemingway and Fitzgerald tradition could work.

Ms Sapp said a developer had already put in an offer for the house and planned to convert it into "yuppie flats". Unless state architects are persuaded to object by March 25, the garden will be split into three plots for luxury villas.

Nin, they argue, was a very faithful wife. In fact, while her husband, an American banker, was away, Nin would get up to all sorts of tricks. The deception revolved mainly around Nin's machinations to sleep with and seduce Miller. "She was a great seamstress and would tell Guiler she needed a new dress from Dior. He would give her the money and she would run something off using fabric she had bought."

"When she needed new underwear, she would buy it at the flea market. She gave Miller the money she saved," said Ms Sapp, whose campaign is backed by Nin's second husband, Rupert Pole. Nin died in Los Angeles in 1977.

As well as the most controversial episodes of her diary, Nin wrote *Spy in the House of Love* in Louveciennes. Miller is believed to have worked at the house, too, and Lawrence Sanders, the photographer Gyula Brassai, and the sculptor Constantin Brancusi were frequent visitors.



Literary snub... Although born in France, Anais Nin wrote in English and has been ignored by the authorities

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Lord Donaldson, former Master of the Rolls, told the Guardian the "two strikes and you're out" proposal was still a "sledgehammer to crack a nut" which would apply to only 40 cases a year. Lord Donaldson, who has warned of the danger of "despotic" government, suggested a new indeterminate sentence instead of life. Judges could impose a sentence of a number of years but leave it open for the offender to be kept in prison after that if he still posed a danger.

"He had once imposed a life sentence on a repeat rapist, but in those days I had no doubt about the objectivity with which the question of release would be approached. I personally now do have doubts."

Coma man taps out tale of murder attempt

Police reopen inquiry into train 'accident' that injured musician

Helen Nowicka

A YOUNG musician who suffered brain damage in what appeared to be an accident has emerged from a two-year coma to tell doctors he was the victim of a murder attempt.

Detectives have reopened their investigation into what happened to Geoffrey Wildsmith in the minutes before he was found lying in a pool of blood shortly after midnight on April 24, 1994.

Mr Wildsmith, then 19, had been playing bass guitar with his band Rich and Famous at a hotel in Haslemere, Surrey, before catching a train home to Guildford. He complained of feeling unwell and reportedly asked an acquaintance to meet on the train to mind his bag while he went for some air.

Shortly afterwards he was found lying in the carriage corridor bleeding heavily.

Part of his skull and brain was missing. A window was open above where Mr Wildsmith was found, and traces of flesh were recovered from the carriage side, leading detectives to believe he had leaped out and been struck by an oncoming train or the wall of a tunnel. Police were unable to trace any witnesses.

Mr Wildsmith, an optician's assistant, was paralysed in the incident and remained in a persistent vegetative state at the Royal Hospital for Neurodisability in Putney, south-west London, until last month.

Then staff noticed a slight movement in the tip of the little finger on his right hand and tried to communicate with him. A computer operated by a button was linked to a buzzer so Mr Wildsmith could hear how many times he touched it, and a coded alphabet was devised so he could tap messages.

When doctors asked if he could remember what happened on the night he was injured he replied that he could and it had not been an accident. He painstakingly spelled out that assailants had tried to kill him.

British Transport Police officers led by Detective Inspector Ron Walker took Mr Wildsmith's statement at his bedside.

Detectives have since re-interviewed several people questioned two years ago, and are pursuing fresh leads. They are also reviewing forensic tests that failed to find any human tissue on oncoming trains or tunnels.

Detective Chief Superintendent Peter Wheat of British Transport Police said: "He is telling us new things which we are taking seriously."

Yesterday Mr Wildsmith's mother, Maria Appassamy, said she had been shocked to learn of the assault. "For nearly two years we have all believed it was an accident and now the police are investigating something more sinister, it's hard to come to terms with," she said.

'Two-strike' sentences will need more jails

Howard admits

continued from page 1
matic life sentence would mean the repeat rapist would "cut their losses and murder the only witness to the crime".

The Home Secretary insisted that somebody who had just committed a rape would not be in a "calm rational state of mind to make that kind of assessment".

Lord Donaldson, former Master of the Rolls, told the Guardian the "two strikes and you're out" proposal was still a "sledgehammer to crack a nut" which would apply to only 40 cases a year.

Lord Donaldson, who has warned of the danger of "despotic" government, suggested a new indeterminate sentence instead of life. Judges could impose a sentence of a number of years but leave it open for the offender to be kept in prison after that if he still posed a danger.

It's a power thing; and power — in various permutations — is really what's at the heart of the British fascination with dogs. The "hound" of the royal or baronial master, used for hunting in his exclusive forests, has come down to the mass of the people.

Liverpool sets £1,000 council tax

Martyn Halsall

CASH-STARVED Liverpool council yesterday set the country's highest council tax, taking band D payers through £1,000 for the first time in the country.

However, the council staved off immediate compulsory redundancies for its workers with a deal expected to include a temporary pay cut.

Hundreds of workers lobbied the town hall as the Labour controlled authority agreed a 4.5 per cent increase in council tax.

The Labour group's £496 million budget, which had to absorb £44 million of government-imposed cuts, was passed by 47 votes to 41, after a four-hour debate and eight hours before this year's deadline expired.

After the meeting, Harry Rimmer, the council leader, said he was confident of an "understanding" response from the unions, but warned against action that would disrupt council services.

"It would be futile; it wouldn't achieve anything," he said. He said negotiations "may very well involve" job losses, but forecast these might be avoided "if we get maximum co-operation between now and March 31".

The budget, fiercely opposed by the Liberal Democrats, set a council tax of between £870.57 for band A and £2,012.92 for band H. It takes properties in band D — those valued at between £88,000 and £88,000 — above £1,000 for the first time in the country.

Labour leaders blamed the new rates primarily on the Government's hostility to Labour-controlled cities. They pointed out that 85 per cent of Liverpool's properties were in band A, valued at up to £40,000.

Several hundred protesters whistled and jeered councillors as they entered the town hall. Carboard effigies of Hitler and Churchill were burnt to underline the protests.

Changes already clear from yesterday's vote include a 15p increase in school meals charges, to £1, and a deal for 24,000 council workers expected to include a 2 per cent pay cut for six months and a six-month suspension of a 2.9 per cent pay increase.

Job losses had been projected at between 140 and 863, with the council pledging

everything possible to avoid compulsory redundancies. Talks up to March 31 would include "strenuous efforts" to identify alternative savings, and a comprehensive review of council structures, including councillors' allowances.

Mr Rimmer said he commended a "bad budget" to the council, "not with any great sense of achievement — it's making the best of an extremely poor job".

He criticised government categories governing aid. One such index showed Liverpool 85th on a table of the most deprived authorities, while Westminster was ranked fourth. Liverpool, where unemployment is 18.5 per cent, was also "less deprived" than places like Lincoln and Runcyede.

If Liverpool received the same financial support as Westminster, it would be able

Budget means band D payers will break four-figure barrier for first time in country

to give a £250 rebate to every council tax payer, said Mr Rimmer.

The Liberal Democrats' alternative proposals were defeated by 50 votes to 38. Flo Lucas, the party's deputy leader, said Labour proposals would cost 170 jobs and involve a pay cut levelled unfairly to at both poorly paid and well-paid council employees.

"As far as this council is concerned, there's been a hole in it for some time," she said. "There is no political leadership to take it into the 20th century, let alone the 21st."

She said the budget was a recipe for disaster, which would fall apart in the next six months.

"You will have nowhere else to run, except compulsory redundancies," she told the Labour leadership.

Frank Prendergast, Labour deputy leader, said the budget was a package that's bridging the gap for this city. But he warned councillors: "It is no good anybody walking away from here today and thinking that the problems are over. The problems are only just beginning... if any of the [budget] figures are going to be achieved."

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4 BRITAIN

News in brief

Decision on Hindley 'in due course'

THE decision on whether the Moors Murderer Myra Hindley will be released from prison will be taken "in due course" the Home Secretary indicated yesterday. Michael Howard told Hindley just before Christmas that he intended that she never be released but expects to receive her arguments "very shortly" as to why she should not be released. His comments came as Hindley launched a fresh attack on the Home Secretary in a 5,000-word article published yesterday by the Oxford University Law Society magazine. Verdict, comparing herself to a "caged budgie" trapped by Mr Howard's "sinister ability" to change the rules governing life sentence prisoners. She complained that he was keeping her inside to win votes. Yesterday Ann West, mother of one of the moors victims, Lesley Ann Downey, hit back at her claim, saying: "He's keeping her in for murdering four children, actually." — Alan Travis

British soldier wounded

A BRITISH soldier was shot and wounded by an off-duty policeman yesterday in a Cyprus pub brawl, but there are conflicting claims as to whether the officer was involved in the fight or attempting to restore order. Lance Corporal Wayne Eric Phillips, aged 24, was hit in the right shoulder and is being treated in a military hospital on the British base at Episkopi. Several soldiers were involved in the brawl in a Limassol suburb with Cypriot civilians. — Chris Drake

Berlin to get BBC World

GERMANY has granted BBC World, the 24hr international news channel, a terrestrial licence to broadcast in Berlin, which will boost its potential audience by 4.3 million households. The rapid expansion comes as speculation increases that the channel, relaunched a year ago, could be poised to make a breakthrough into the US market. The advertising-supported service has been encouraged by the Government's insistence that the BBC expand its commercial operations to compete on the international stage. — Andrew Cull

Murderer ready to hang

THE convicted British murderer John Martin, on death row in Singapore for killing a South African tourist last year, will not seek clemency from President Ong Teng Cheong, the Singapore Sunday Times newspaper said. Martin, aged 33, also known as John Martin Scripps, was sentenced to hang for murder after the High Court convicted him last November of killing and dismembering Gerard George Lowe. In January, Martin gave up his right to refer his case to the Court of Appeal. His lawyer Edmund Perera said others could still petition for clemency on his behalf.

Ex-boxer fighting dump

FORMER world boxing champion Barry McGuigan is fighting plans to site a huge rubbish dump and recycling plant within a few hundred yards of his home. The plant is planned by Cleanaway waste management on 350 acres of Lambhurst Farm, on the outskirts of Dargate, near Faversham, Kent. "This is a drastic situation, a disgrace," the former featherweight champion said yesterday at his six-bedroom home where he lives with his wife Sandra and their four children. Ricky Holdstock, chairman of the local parish council, said an action group was being formed and a campaign was inevitable.

Duchess has viral illness

THE Duchess of Kent is suffering a debilitating viral illness which was diagnosed the day before her recent 10-day visit to India for the United Nations Children's Fund. The duchess, who is 63 and has suffered bouts of exhaustion for months, has contracted Epstein Barr Virus (EBV), which has been linked with three types of cancer. It is a type of the herpes virus, can trigger glandular fever, and leaves sufferers feeling tired. The duchess told organisers she would go ahead with the trip, and only revealed the nature of her illness as she was travelling back to the UK.

Learning to be happy

PEOPLE get more happiness from learning something new than from sex or the lottery, according to a Gallup survey published yesterday by the North Yorkshire Training and Enterprise Council. It found 41 per cent of people said learning new things made them happy. Fewer got equivalent satisfaction from taking the children out, from sex or watching sport, from decorating and from doing the laundry. The findings are being used to encourage more adults to embark on further education. Eight National Lottery punters each won a £1,325,202 share of the £10.6 million jackpot. The winning numbers were 14, 16, 29, 30, 37, 45. The bonus number was 7. — John Carvel

Short accuses Government of 'mortgaging the future before Parliament has approved Tunnel bill'

Channel rail link land expected to yield big profits bonanza for consortium

Keith Harper Transport Editor

THE Government has revealed that "a high level of profit" can be made from the development of land which is part of the £5.7 billion worth of public assets and cash handed over to the private consortium which will build the Channel Tunnel rail link. The Government is handing over 240 acres of land on sites at King's Cross and Stratford, east London, to the London and Continental Consortium, which includes Richard Branson, as part of a package to build the link by 2002. Ministers have been saying that the land is "derelict" and worth little in its present state, although a number of small businesses in the King's

Cross area of central London have sold out for considerable amounts in preparation for its development.

A Government memorandum quietly laid before Parliament late on Friday anticipates substantial profits on both sites, but says that given uncertainty, a clawback scheme has been put in place under which profits above an agreed level will be shared equally between the Government and the consortium.

It also says the Government's £1.4 billion contribution can be reduced if profits are big enough.

The memorandum says the freehold will not be transferred to the consortium until the rail link has been completed. It can allow earlier development so long as the proceeds are spent solely on the rail link project.

The memorandum pro-

voled a furious reaction last night from Clare Short, Labour's transport spokeswoman. She described it as an attempt to "mortgage the future even before the Channel Tunnel bill has been approved by Parliament".

The bill has just started to go through Parliament, but is unlikely to be completed until early next year.

The memorandum from the Transport Secretary, Sir George Young, shows that the Government wants to press ahead with all the rail-link preparatory work, even though it will be out of office before construction begins.

Ms Short said: "Labour remains totally committed to the link. If we had been listened to, the project could have been built at less cost and with public money. But the Government is making commitments over the project

which it has no right to do. These will have to be re-examined by any new government, and certainly by a Labour administration."

The memorandum makes it clear that the consortium will only be responsible for the construction and commercial risks. The Government would assume responsibility for the project if the consortium's assets were sequestered, and if ministers ordered changes to the project.

The Government could also take responsibility for matters relating to "existing leases and tenancies," which the consortium is taking over. Generous reasons to extend the time allowed for completion of the project beyond 2002 have also been written in by Sir George.

The reasons range from bad weather conditions to the discovery of hazardous waste

and unexpected ground conditions. Two other letouts are the protection of listed buildings and fauna.

The memorandum claims that the rail-link will provide £8 billion of benefits to the public, of which £4.8 billion will be in increased value of the link to international passengers.

Because the Government is reserving capacity on the line for up to eight domestic trains and hour, long distance commuters will also benefit.

The link will enable international services to more than double existing capacity of four trains every hour on routes between London and the Channel Tunnel.

The memorandum sets out possible circumstances when the Government and the consortium would share responsibility. Among them are de-



Clare Short: angry reaction to rail link memorandum

lays in royal assent to the rail-link bill and changes in law and taxation which discriminate against the consortium.



The museum's Melanie Weatherly mops up. Kitchens in the iron houses were small to make families use the larger front room for mind enriching pursuits. PHOTOGRAPHS BY HAMILTON WEST



Roger Colbourn paints window frames on the house that is now a museum piece

Daughter of the Iron House revisits her birthplace

Maeve Kennedy

PAT Smith is returning to the house where she was born today, slightly surprised to find it has become a museum piece.

When she was born there in 1927, the council house in Dudley, West Midlands, looked like any other semi, but there were two clues: its name, and the consequence when a child couldn't resist the temptation and hurled a stone. It was called The Iron House, and it clanged like a gong when struck.

The cast iron council houses were designed after the war as homes fit for heroes. It was thought they would be cheap and easy to build, and could be mass pre-fabricated by iron foundries. They were indeed quick to assemble — records show the 600 cast

iron panels for these houses were bolted together in eight days — but in the end they cost nearly £1,000 a pair, twice as much as brick. Only three pairs were built in Dudley, and now there is only this pair left. Brought together at the Black Country Museum, Dudley, out of the best bits of the six houses.

They were listed in the 1980s, just as Dudley council was giving up the struggle to maintain them. The discovery they were insulated with asbestos was the last straw, and the last tenant moved out in 1987.

The museum curator, Anne Lineen, has found the original plans and contracts and discovered there was a measure of social engineering built in. "They had good big front rooms and deliberately small kitchens, in the hope that people would sit in the

front rooms and not in the kitchen, and have conversations, listen to the radio, occupy themselves with improving hobbies."

One of the houses is being left with stripped interior walls to reveal the construction, and the other is being fitted out with original furniture painstakingly refurbished to look brand new.

Mrs Smith moved to her own brick house when she married in 1949, and never saw the Iron House again after her mother left, but remembers it with great affection. "Of course we never knew about the asbestos, that fills me with horror now," she says. "But it was a lovely home. People say they were cold in winter and like an oven in summer, but I don't remember that. I'm delighted it's in the museum — I shall take my grandchildren to see it."

Trimble warns Dublin on 'weasel words'

Unionist anger at perceived drift in decommissioning commitment

David Sharrock Ireland Correspondent

THE ULSTER Unionist leader David Trimble travels to Dublin today to warn that he will boycott the June 10 all-party talks unless the Irish government takes seriously the need for decommissioning arms.

Mr Trimble, who meets the Irish prime minister John Bruton for a working dinner tonight, will insist that legislation is in place by June to establish a commission to oversee paramilitary decommissioning as talks progress.

The Ulster Unionist deputy leader John Taylor, who will accompany Mr Trimble, said he was concerned by a perceived drift in Dublin's commitment to the principal, as set out in the Anglo-Irish communique which set June 10 as the date for talks.

He said that the Irish foreign minister Dick Spring had claimed that the requirement that decommissioning be "addressed" on the first day of talks meant only that it should be "mentioned". This was another example of Dub-

lin using "weasel words" and failing to honour agreements. "Unionists cannot take part in talks with Sinn Fein until there is a clear commitment to proceed with decommissioning by stages as laid down in the Mitchell report," he said. "We are going to ask Dublin tomorrow 'are you turning your back on the Mitchell report?'"

In his report George Mitchell, President Clinton's special Irish envoy, recommended that the paramilitaries destroy their weapons in



David Trimble: threat to boycott peace talks

front of independent verifiers as the talks continue.

Mr Trimble said he was "absolutely delighted" by a speech made by Mr Bruton at his Fine Gael party's annual conference this weekend, in which the taoiseach lambasted the IRA and said that there could be no effective talks unless everybody was willing to negotiate by the same rules.

Michael Ancram, the Northern Ireland minister, also welcomed the tone of Mr Bruton's speech. On BBC's Breakfast with Frost programme, he said of the IRA and Sinn Fein "one is a member of the other" and that they alone were excluding themselves from the process. "If they want to become part of that democratic path then they have to unequivocally restore the ceasefire."

Mr Ancram acknowledged that there were differences between the Northern Ireland parties on the form that elections should take place, but he said he hoped that they would accept whatever the Government decided.

Later Mr Bruton told Irish radio that the meeting today between the entire Irish government team and the unionist delegation was "a historic event". Previously Mr Trimble has said he would only meet individual party

leaders rather than the three coalition partners.

"It's very important because what we're hoping for is ultimately a reconciliation between the Unionists who consider themselves to be British who live in Ireland and Irish nationalists who live in Ireland too," he said.

"There has never been reconciliation between those two sectors of people in the past 300 years. Obviously if there is to be permanent peace there has to be that reconciliation based on consent."

Mr Taylor said there was "nothing historic" about his party's Dublin dinner date, since Ulster Unionists had periodically met Dublin governments since 1921. "The Irish are like that, it's one of their problems," he said.

On Wednesday he and Mr Trimble will travel to Washington for St Patrick's Day celebrations, culminating in a White House reception on Friday. The Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams, who was the star guest last year, has not been invited because of the ending of the IRA's ceasefire.

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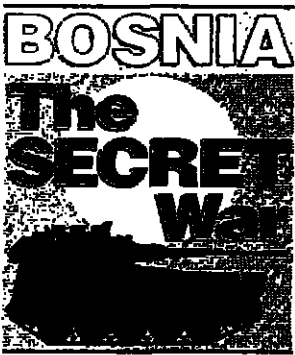
Gary Glitter may never make it to the White House, but he could help someone else get there. For, whether he knows it or not, the seventies rocker has been enlisted in the campaign to elect Bob Dole president of the United States.
G2 page 12

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Traumatized survivors tell Ed Vulliamy of the horrors perpetrated by one man against the people of Visegrad, in eastern Bosnia

Bloody trail of butchery at the bridge



THE bridge that spans the River Drina's lustrous current at Visegrad is a Bosnian emblem. Bridge on the Drina is the title of a great work of literature by the country's most celebrated author, Ivo Andric, a Nobel prize winner.

In Andric's book, the bridge is at once backdrop and silent witness to Bosnia's history. It is a mighty and glorious structure spanning the river at a point where savage, precipitous rocks briefly part, giving way to a verdant valley. The water flowing through its elegant arches is a luminous blend of turquoise and jade.

The bridge was built, as the carved inscription proudly declares, in 1571 by order of the Ottoman Grand Vizier Mehmet Pasha, of robust purple stone hewed by Rasim the Mason. "Of all the things that life drives man to shape and build," wrote Andric, "none, I think, is as precious as bridges. They serve no arcane or evil purpose."

A few of the bodies were rescued from the waters by a teenager, whose quiet testimony begins the unveiling of butchery at the bridge.

JASMIN R's fresh face belies what he knows. Jasmin was evacuated to Dublin last Christmas from a prison camp in Serbia, to which he had fled from the crushed Muslim enclave of Zepa, to which he had fled from Visegrad in 1992.

During his three years at Zepa, Jasmin, aged 14 on arrival, was considered too young to fight. Instead, he was assigned to a hamlet called Slay, a lonely junction between the Drina and Zepa

rivers. There his job was to haul bloated corpses out of the Drina's current as it flowed from Visegrad, bring them ashore in a small boat often under Serbian fire, and give them a proper burial.

"We dug the graves," he says calmly, "and buried 180 people. So I knew personally, they had been my neighbours in Visegrad." The Bosnian government calculates that probably about one in 20 bodies were salvaged.

Jasmin's companion in this work was Mersud C, now based in a barracks for orled Zepa soldiers up a front-line mountain in central Bosnia.

"The bodies came," says Mersud, "almost every day. Men and women, old and young. They had been beaten and tortured, they were black and blue, and some had been decapitated. Yes, and there were children. Mostly 10 or 12, and two infants of about 18 months."

Eighty-two corpses were identified. The graves were dug for one, three or five at a time, named or numbered, and ringed by a low fence.

Before the war, Mersud had spent summer evenings with friends on the bridge. "It was the place to meet before going for coffee. I read the Andric book. It was compulsory at school."

The Serbian slaughter of Muslims in eastern Bosnia at the war's inception was largely hidden from prying eyes. Unknown to the outside world, on August 5 1994 a Serbian soldier from Visegrad, called Milomir Obradovic, held prisoner in Muslim Gorazde, told his captors the story of one man: Milan Lukic. A UN policeman, Sergeant T. Cameron, took notes.

Obradovic told how Lukic paraded around Visegrad with a megaphone, shrieking: "Brother Serbs, it's time to finish off the Muslims" and how Lukic set about achieving this goal.

Lukic, he said, locked men, women and children in houses and incinerated them. He arrived at factories, took employees out and shot them — for a while he kept the wife of one such victim, Igbala Rafirovic, as a captive sexual partner.



Slippery customer... General Ratko Mladic, wanted by the United Nations war crimes tribunal in The Hague, out skiing on Mt Johorina near Sarajevo at the weekend. He said on Greek television: "This is a political court with no legal basis... a pot where the fate of people is cooked." Meanwhile French fire fighters were sent into Hilda, Sarajevo yesterday, after fleeing Serbs set several buildings alight

vic's captors exchanged him, apparently unaware of his value. The witness was lost. Obradovic has not been heard of since, and any investigator might wonder whether he met the same fate as another Serb official who objected to Lukic's mass murder, Stanko Petkic. Obradovic said Lukic murdered him.

But, following the trail of Lukic's bloodlust, The Guardian has reconstructed the case, and found other witnesses to the Visegrad carnage scattered across Bosnia and Europe. Their testimonies interweave like threads in a tapestry. There is no Muslim from Visegrad who does not know what Milan Lukic did on their bridge, and

'If the red Passat arrived, you knew something terrible would happen to you'

there are very few who do not mourn in his wake.

Mersud the gravedigger knew the man whose victims he pulled from the river; they had been neighbours. Lukic, now about 30, was born in the village of Rujiste, said Mersud, and "seemed a good guy". Another neighbour called Omer, now in Sarajevo, said that Lukic's family had been "fervent Chetniks in the second world war". Lukic moved to Serbia after leaving high school to keep a cafe in Obrenovac, near Belgrade, but returned as the clouds of war gathered in spring 1992.

Lukic assembled a gang of 15 braves, including his brother Milos, cousin Sredolje, a chum from Belgrade called Devan Jetic and a waiter, Mitar Vasiljevic. Before long Lukic committed the first murder in Visegrad's war.

Mirsada K. was at home when she heard a shot next door. The little girl from the household came running to Mirsada's house, saying her mother Bakha Zukic was dead, shot in the back, and her father Dzemal taken. The man who had fired the shot was Milan Lukic: he had taken a fancy to Dzemal's new red Volkswagen Passat, and had made off with both man and car.

Dzemal Zukic was never seen again, but the car became omnipresent. From that day hence — as another witness, Felida D., said: "If the red Passat arrived at your house, you knew something terrible was about to happen to you." Thus Milan Lukic sparked an orgy of violence which emptied Visegrad of 14,500 Muslims.

The bridge was not the only killing field. Women have survived to bear witness to Lukic's house-burnings. Her hands and face deformed by fire, Zehra T. was the sole survivor of an inferno at Bakovica, above the bridge, on June 27, in which 71 people were incinerated.

Szma K. was herded into a stadium and thence to a house with 60 others. The Passat arrived at 5pm. Within four hours, she said: "The sky was light because the house was in flames." Szma escaped through a window.

A man called Hasan Ajnovic survived a cull of men in the house of a waiter called Mehmed. Mehmed had worked alongside Lukic's waiter-benchman Vasiljevic at the Pano restaurant. Six men, including Mehmed and his son Ekhem, were driven to the riverbank in a convoy led by Lukic and Vasiljevic, where they were lined up and shot. Hasan jumped into the water before he was hit, and was shielded by Mehmed's floating corpse.

But the bloodiest arena was the bridge itself. The structure is visible from almost every balcony and window in Visegrad, which climbs both

sides of the valley. Its cobblestones are a stage at the foot of an amphitheatre; the executions were intended to be as public as possible.

From her balcony, Felida D. watched. She saw "Lukic, in his Passat, and the trucks behind, arriving on the bridge each evening". The gang would unload their human cargo, and the killing began. "We saw them by day or by the city lights, whether they were killing men that time, women or children. It took half an hour, sometimes more."

The Serbs usually stabbed people into various states between life and death before throwing them into the water below. "Sometimes they would throw people off alive," Felida recalled, "shooting at the same time. Sometimes they would make them swim a bit then shoot."

One witness, Admir H., recalled Lukic enjoying music from the Passat's radio while throwing two men into the river. "I can't swim!" protested one of them, Samir, as Lukic fired into the water.

At the end of June a Visegrad police inspector, Milan Josipovic, received a macabre complaint from downtown, from the management of Bajina Basta hydro-electric plant across the Serbian border. The plant director said could whoever was responsible please slow the flow of corpses down the Drina? They were clogging up the culverts in his dam at such a rate that he could not assemble sufficient staff to remove

'I could hear both women screaming until they were shot in the stomach. They fell in'

them. The dam is well downriver from Jasmin's and Mersud's Zepa graveyard — their 180 bodies were a small fraction of the total.

Hasena M. lived in a first floor flat, 150 yards from the riverbank in Visegrad. By July 15 she had spent 12 days wondering whether her husband Nusret was alive. He had been taken by a Serbian neighbour he had known well, Dragan Tomic, and disappeared.

Hasena set off for work at 6.30, across the bridge as usual, to find Lukic already busy at that unusual hour. "Two young men with their hands tied behind their backs" were being executed to the sound of his car radio.

At lunchtime, Lukic came by Hasena's factory to promise that the time had come to "finish off the Muslims" remaining in Visegrad. Hasena and her three Muslim workmates left early, electing to take another route home. Looking upriver at the old bridge, they saw 15 men lined up and killed. Terrified, Hasena hid at home for four days with her daughters Nusret and Nermina, aged eight and six.

In the afternoon of July 19, the red Passat pulled up outside Hasena's flat, into which her elderly parents and sister had moved. Milan and Milos Lukic, armed with machine guns, kicked the door open. Hasena's children were playing outside. Their turn had come.

"Milan Lukic said that in the next 15 minutes he would kill us all," recalled Hasena. She was sent outside to fetch the little girls, but implored her Serbian neighbours to hide them; the neighbours refused. So Hasena and her girls slipped unheard past her own front door to an empty flat on the third floor.

From there Hasena heard Lukic ask: "Where's the third woman?" She heard her mother Ramiza call for her, but waited. From a window she saw Lukic march her

mother and sister Asima out into the Passat, and drive towards the bridge. Hasena followed, to a vantage point near a school.

Halfway across the river, the bridge widens to form a lovely overhang above the current called the Sofa, a Turkish word. Here is a bench of fine flagstones where people can sit comfortably, leaning back against the parapet, which reclines. This was where Hasena used to chat with her friends. But not on July 19.

"I watched them put my mother and sister astride the parapet, like on a horse," Hasena said. "I could hear both women screaming, until they were shot in the stomach."

'I wish I could drive that bridge from my mind, but I see it... That bridge will drive me mad'

They fell into the water, then laughing as they watched. The water went red.

months. Many women from Visegrad say they "shared a house with other women" during that summer. That is all. Some details, if spoken, can destroy any attempt to rebuild life.

On September 13, Hasena was moved. And now her story adds another, fresh name to the grisly list of Serbian concentration camps in Bosnia: Usamnica.

Hasena was kept in a crowded hangar of this disused barracks for three years, while her daughters lost their childhood. "I used to look at them in the morning, asleep, locked in while the sun was shining outside, and cry."

Usamnica was a forced labour camp, so that when they were outside Hasena and her girls were working, even six-year-old Nermina. It was hard labour, dawn-dusk, planting tomatoes or feeding cattle. The only food the Serbs provided for their Muslim prisoners was forbidden pork.

Lukic was a regular visitor to Usamnica. "He came every day, wild, saying 'I'll kill you filthy gypsies' — beating and abusing prisoners at will. The screams of pain, said Hasena, came mainly from the men's quarters. Each week, convoys of male prisoners would leave the camp, heading into Serbia, never to be seen again. Last October Hasena and her girls were exchanged, and made it to Sarajevo.

Visegrad is now a beleaguered town. It is awful to look down at the vigorous current gliding beneath the Sofa and its parapet, and to wonder that this was the last thing those killed, mutilated people saw as they plunged.

But Visegrad is still home to the Ivo Andric library, the finest collection of his books in the world. The librarian, Stojka Mijatovic, offered us a volume, a gift. "We have taken so many books from Muslim houses we hardly know what to do with them," she said.

Mrs Mijatovic had once presented this very edition of Andric to the library's most regular and best-loved client. Now she had it back, looted from the dead man's house.

"Would you like me to cross out the Muslim names?" she offered. "No thank you." The dedication from the library was to Emir Ajnovic, a relative of Osman's father and brother.

Would you ever want to see the bridge again? Osman and Felida shuddered. "Never." And Hasena? She shivered. "Never. Not if I lived a thousand years. I wish I could drive that bridge from my mind, but I see it as though I were there now. That bridge will drive me mad."

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Per ardua ad knee-jerk
Misplaced misogyny

ONCE upon a time, the headmasters — and they were all men — of the nation's leading public schools were regarded as awesome and formidable. Today, they increasingly make themselves look foolish and absurd.

Why parents in private schools are not in revolt over these new soundbite heads is difficult to understand. Presumably, one reason why mothers of children in boarding schools go out to work is because that is the only way the parents can pay the £12,000 plus fees.

There is another puzzle. The public schools have been desperate to demonstrate they are no longer the fossilised and isolated communities they once were.

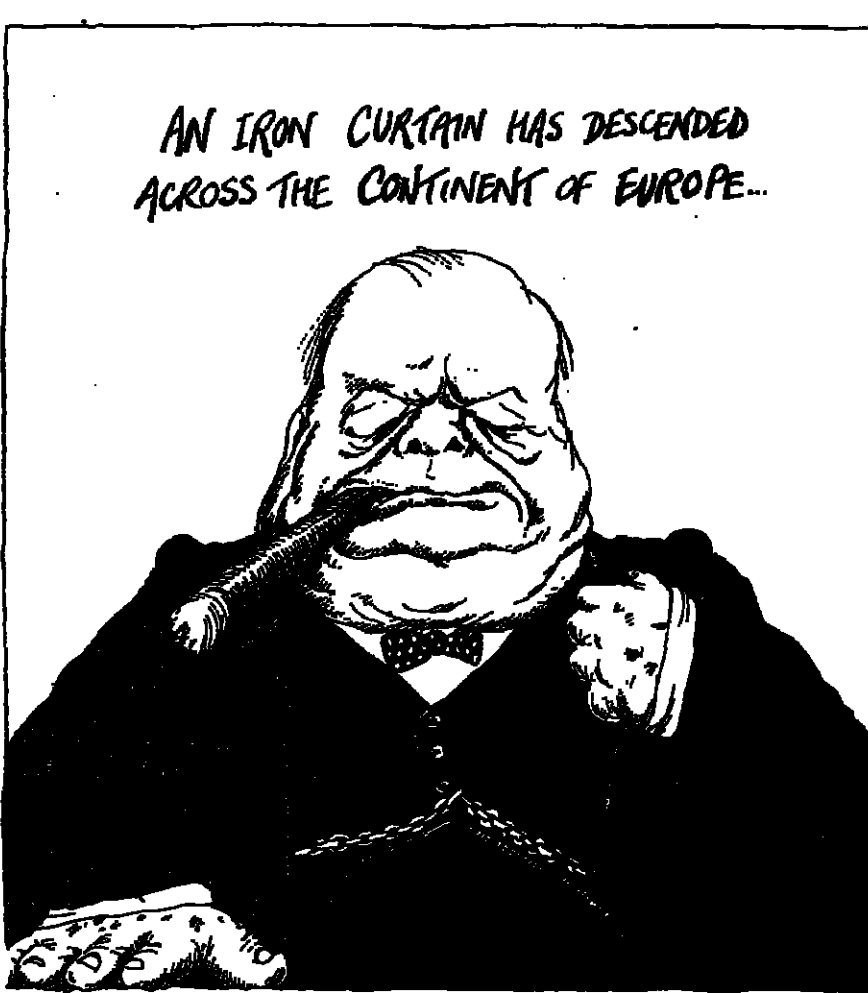
China's gunboats

Why firing missiles near Taiwan is wrong

FIRING a missile onto someone else's doorstep is the modern equivalent of sending a gunboat. It is a sad situation when post-revolutionary China adopts a practice towards Taiwan more usually associated with the British in their empire or the US in its backyard.

China has, in recent years, shown considerable skill in its foreign relations. It has extricated itself from a position of dual isolation from both superpowers. It has managed to retain many of the interests of a developing country while, in many respects, joining the ranks of the developed.

In the 1950s, there were two Taiwan Straits crises when China raised the temperature by shelling the Taiwan-controlled offshore islands near the Chinese mainland. But then Beijing faced a discredited Guomindang regime in Taipei and the unremitting hostility of the US, which backed Chiang Kai-shek.



AN IRON CURTAIN HAS DESCENDED ACROSS THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE...



AN IRON CURTAIN MUST DESCEND ACROSS FOLKESTONE!! HONK! WOOF!!

Letters to the Editor

Happy workers, happy profits

RUN a small business. What if need is skilled, well-trained, hard-working, committed employees. You cannot expect these if you offer no job security, no rights and low pay.

If the Government really wanted to cut red tape, why does it not a) really simplify the PAYE system, b) scrap VAT.

What I also need is an increase in the level of aggregate demand. The higher the wages the more gets spent, and the poor spend proportionately more than the rich.

IT IS time that small-business people woke up. The fact is that enormous numbers of small businesses have failed in the 17 years of Tory government.

YOU report Mark Smith, an employer who claims to have had enough of spurious unfair dismissal tribunal claims, as saying that the problem is that solicitors are ambulance-chasing this sort of work.

Letters to the Editor may be faxed on 0171 837 4530 or sent by post to 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER, and by e-mail to letters@guardian.co.uk.

Hitchens: shock, horror

PETER Hitchens, of the Daily Express, (in defence of Cherie picking, Letters, March 9) goes to amusingly self-righteous lengths to justify being the kind of creep who invents scandals where none exist and attacks people in order to inflame feeling against them.

It's futile to get emotional in defence of Cherie Blair, as if this will stop them from doing it. If one creep should get an unlikely attack of conscience and back off, the kind of editor who employs hitmen for this type of work will quickly find another.

But we need more articles, preferably written by men, coming clean about just why we encourage women, in all our professions, to do well — and then, in snide, furtive ways, punctuated by hysterical belly-laugh, take glee in putting them down as if they are characters in saloon-bar dirty jokes.

Just what is our dirty little secret about women who do well in public? Gill and Anita Elliot, 85a St Augustine's Road, London NW1 9RR.

AS MARTIN Kettle pointed out (Cherie becomes a prime target, March 9) there is now an orchestrated campaign to vilify and demonise Mrs Blair. But Mr Blair is not prime minister and cannot be held responsible for the maladministration or abuse of power that have afflicted Britain since May 1979.

By contrast, Mrs Major is the wife of the man, who has been prime minister for several years, and a cabinet minister before that. One has been allowed to know that Mrs Major is a keen opera lover, but — surprise, surprise — in the Tory press, to speculate on her influence is a taboo subject. She is anointed as more fragrant than Mrs Bottomley and only less saintly than Mother Theresa. Michael Cendrowicz, Avenue Albert Elisabeth 36, 1200 Brussels.

PETER HITCHENS cannot be allowed to get away with his absurd stereotyping of Guardian readers. As a beer-swilling, meat-munching, 61-year-old ex-serVICEMAN with a passionate belief in the capabilities of the nuclear deter-

ent, could it be that I read the Guardian for its unbiased and formative content, in preference to the Daily Express, which leans so far right as to make the Leaning Tower of Pisa appear vertical. I gave up reading pornographic comics many years ago, Mr Hitchens should try it. J.R. Stephens, 53 Wood Avenue, Folkestone, Kent, CT19 6JH.

WITH REGARD to his membership of the International Socialists, Peter Hitchens reveals that he has changed his mind rather than his image. How true. He is clearly still trying to flog a crap newspaper. I.A. McCannell, 7D West Quay, Bridgwater, Somerset TA6 3HL.

EVERY Guardian reader telephoned Peter Hitchens on Freephone 0800 376 8000 on 7/67 and asked after his health, or just said "Hello", it would cost the Express £500,000. I only write to say you're not to do this. It's silly. Eryn Evans, 20 Highworth Crescent, Y Rhyl Clwyd LL18 4HP.

Freedom now

PETER PRESTON had some legitimately cynical fun at the expense of the "vision thing" (March 8). He may not be aware of it but the "vision thing" has existed in Western society ever since Schiller set down his ideas for the history of the human in humanity. Carlyle said it would take 200 years.

What is distinctively human, of course, is our inter-dependence, or our "mutual dependence on each other", if you prefer the term used by psychoanalysts in the human relations school. This is not to dispute the fact that modern history has been made by individuals, with violence between individuals and between individual nations.

Why do British fishermen not register their vessels in Spain and thus become entitled to use the Spanish fish quota? If the Spanish do not permit such registration, presumably the British could also refuse registration to the Spanish ships.

When victory comes, the government will, no doubt, apply the Barber general theory of crisis management to all sorts of problems. Looking back, there is no doubt that his exact solution could have been used with advantage, almost word for word, during several public relations disasters 20 years ago.

When attacked because his son-in-law had been appointed ambassador to Washington, Jim Callaghan could think of no more ingenious explanation than the insistence that his nominee was the best man for the job. What a pity he did not take a leaf out of Professor Barber's book.

That explanation would have captured for Labour the palpably-reasonable-man's vote, the caring-father's vote, the henpecked-husband's vote and (most important) the we-have-always-wanted-our-daughter-to-meet-the-Queen vote. Jim Callaghan thought of none of those things.

Denis Healey might easily have given a similarly prudent reply when he was caught by journalists at Heathrow as he cancelled a foreign trip and hurried back to Whitehall to avert a sterling crisis. There was absolutely

Cloning is too important a business to be left to sheep

AS A bio-medical scientist, I find myself deeply dismayed by your ill-informed coverage of the sheep-cloning story (March 7 and 8).

If society wishes to find cures for most of the major diseases of the world, then the ability to examine the roles of genes, and the proteins which they encode, is essential for progress. In order to deduce how genes work, and what effects they have on the behaviour of cells, on the growth of animals and plants, and on the development of disease, we have to be able to find genes in cells, alter them in the lab, and put them back into cells to see what the effects are of those alterations.

It is important that there should be public debate on these issues but it is vital that it is well-informed. If Pasteur and Fleming had had similar public receptions to that which much current science endures it is likely that antibiotics may never have been developed. (Dr) David Corcoran, 3 Queens Road, Tounes Green, London N11 2QJ.

A Country Diary

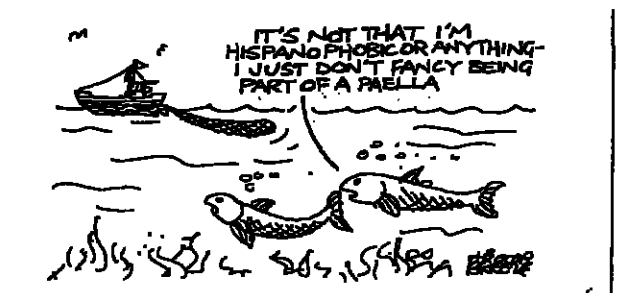
CLEY, NORFOLK: The nature reserve at Cley has a special place in the history of British conservation. The site was originally purchased by a group of pioneer environmentalists in 1926, who went on to form a body for its management, known as the Norfolk Naturalists' Trust. Over the years, this organisation was replicated in other counties and eventually gave rise to the whole network of county wildlife trusts. Cley was, in a sense then, the seed for this nationwide movement.

Its importance is more than merely symbolic. On the north Norfolk coast which, in its entirety, is a biosphere reserve, a Ramsar site and considered one of the most natural in Europe, Cley stands out. There are 400 acres amongst the most hallowed ornithological turf in the country with important breeding populations of rarities such as avocet, bearded tit, marsh harrier and bittern.

It is also a magnet for wintering wildfowl and migrating

waders, and together these wildlife spectacles draw in 20,000 visitors annually. It is the environmental jewel in the crown. So the year of its 70th anniversary should have started with a bang. Instead, it opened with a flood in early February the combination of exceptionally high tides, more and higher winds enabled the sea to breach the shingle banks that protect this vulnerable coastline. The additional earth banks on either side of the reserve, intended as further defence measures, were also breached and then simply acted like the sides of a bucket as the site filled up with five metres of sea water. As if this wasn't bad enough, the trust had just finished a major new complex of boardwalks and hides to be ready for the forthcoming celebrations. Now, it has had to dig again into its hard-won resources and launch a crisis appeal to turn round as quickly as possible the £20,000 worth of damage.

MARK COCKER



Netting those Spanish fishermen

IN THE hullabaloo over the European Court's fishing ruling (British fury at fish defeat, March 6) little has been said about what could be done right now to stop the quota hoppers. At the moment, boats flying a UK flag of convenience have a choice. Either they must land half their catch in Britain, or they must visit one of our ports at least four times every six months.

But why offer the choice? Make it compulsory to do both and you would immediately force a drastic cut by making many trips uneconomic. It would also allow us to make careful checks on many more of their catches.

Best of all, it is a change that could be made at once, at

no cost, and with no fear of falling foul of Euro-law — it merely concerns licence conditions, not legislation. Robin Teverson MEP, European Parliament Fisheries Committee, Newton Farm, Metherell, Callington, Cornwall PL17 8DQ.

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Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

IN the Labour Party, age does not seem to bring wisdom. Some geriatric remnants of discredited governments have still not realised the reason for their failure. The fuss that they have caused about Michael Barber's decision to send his daughter to a fee-paying school typifies their ignorance of modern politics. The fact that Professor Barber advises the Labour leadership on how to re-organise state education is totally irrelevant to the hard-headed analysis that brings victory.

He has once again demonstrated that the Opposition is no longer preoccupied by the problems of the disadvantaged — a handicap which, almost unbelievably, the Labour Party once accepted with misplaced pride. The way in which Professor Barber's critics have hawked their con-

science through the popular press demonstrates how little they understand of the real world. The opinion polls do not even ask, "Which party do you think is most likely to apply its principles in practice?"

A close textual examination of Professor Barber's explanation for his decision to go private demonstrates how important his services will be to a New Labour government. It is such a classic example of the genre that it deserves to be quoted verbatim.

Who can invent compelling excuses, may well make the difference between one and two terms of office. If Professor Barber had crudely told the newspapers, "It's my wife's fault. Don't blame me," he might have been regarded as a touch unchivalrous. By adding the bit about "taking responsibility" he managed to step clear of personal blame and, at the same time, seem to cherish Mrs Barber, despite the folly which, he made clear, was her responsibility. Talent like that should not be wasted.

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Denis Healey might easily have given a similarly prudent reply when he was caught by journalists at Heathrow as he cancelled a foreign trip and hurried back to Whitehall to avert a sterling crisis. There was absolutely

no need to undermine international confidence by admitting what was going on. "Edna," he could have said, "insists that I go home and worm the cat". The animal-loving vote would have been thus secured. I was so impressed by Professor Barber's ingenuity that I took some trouble to examine his recent writing. What I discovered convinced me that, as well as being desperately needed to construct plausible explanations, he will be immensely helpful in times of future difficulty with the crucial task of presenting the new prime minister's high moral character and high moral character to the public.

Undoubtedly, Peter Mandelson will devote much of his multifarious talent to boosting the leader's confidence. But he will certainly welcome the help of a man who can write, "I am sure that in 1996, Blair will be reaching out to the profession, seeking its commitment to the crusade he's committed to leading if Labour wins the approaching election." No doubt teachers' fears of dismissal evaporated overnight. Michael Barber's suitability

to assist New Labour with the problems of office is confirmed by the job he does — Professor of New Initiatives. In the boring old days, professors had chairs in boring old subjects like mathematics, natural sciences, law, philosophy and English. There were even professors of history — an intrinsically disloyal subject, since it implies that something of interest happened in the world before the summer of 1994. But New Initiatives — that is a subject of the future, tomorrow's discipline, a study for the brave new world.

So enough of the politics of envy — the ideas peddled about by the failures who have grown so used to defeat that they no longer have the will to win. The world belongs to the Professor Barbers — trade unionists-turned-academic advisers both to government and opposition and experts in subjects with names that sound as if they wing their way via the Internet along the information superhighway. Or perhaps it belongs to their wives.

Handwritten signature or scribble at the bottom of the page.

Tehran diary

Kathy Evans

AS THE aircraft began its descent over Tehran city towards the airport, I could feel the knot in my stomach tightening. Twelve years ago I had left Tehran airport in handcuffs, escorted to the plane by six unshaven men in rumpled suits, Iranian officials who chose not to identify themselves or the department they worked for.

I had been taken into custody as soon as I arrived, despite the fact that I held a visa granted by the Islamic Guidance Ministry, which supervises foreign journalists. I had been yanked out of the passport office by what I thought was a welcoming committee. It was, but of the unfriendly kind. The next 10 days were spent in daily visits to a police station and the ever-present fear of transfer to Tehran's revolutionary chamber of horrors, Evin. A colleague I was working with was to spend the next five years in jail; I was deported back to my home in Dubai. Nobody ever told me what my "crime" was.

Since then, Iranian embassy officials abroad have continually told me over the years that Iran has changed. Last week I began to believe them; as I passed through immigration and customs it was smiles not scowls which greeted incoming passengers.

On the streets of the city, the signs of the new liberal atmosphere are everywhere. The government's obsession with women's hair and clothes still continues, but in the upper class areas of north Tehran, the stick and eye-liner are back in a big way. Headscarves, the main political censor, are now worn well back on the head over huge bouffant hairdos. Twelve years ago, this was a town which killed you for a stray wisp of hair or wearing the wrong colour socks.

Most Tehran residents tell you nothing has changed. But in the ministries, the new liberal atmosphere is clear. Officials now admit not everyone likes their system. Iran, I began to believe really has changed.

IRANIAN writers disagree. According to their union, freedom of expression in the political area, let alone the creative field, still has a long way to go. One leading commentator, Abbas Marashi is presently waiting to see a sentence of flogging and imprisonment is going to be carried out for his sin of comparing the country's religious leadership with that of the late ayatollah.

In the Islamic Guidance Ministry, some 700 novels are said to be stacked up, awaiting the approval which will never come. In the past four months no work of literature has been published at all. We are writing books to be put in drawers, one woman writer told me.

Film-makers tell the same story. Each year, the ministry throws out nearly 400 scripts, rejected on the grounds that their themes are unfit for public consumption. The stalemate on cultural issues comes just as Iran has scored its highest success overseas with the Oscar nomination for the film White Balloon. Janfer Panahi's film tells the story of a small girl who wants to buy a pet goldfish to mark the start of the Iranian New Year. Back home though, the film's success has irked some film producers. The simplicity of the theme, they say, is typical of the kind of films which pass scrutiny. Complicated themes on nuclear relationships, ships, or films which show women as individuals, not simply as mothers and wives, are banned, said Bahram Bazi, one of Iran's leading film directors. Bazi has had his films banned in the past five years.

Last week Iran held its own Oscar ceremony to mark the end of its annual film festival. There was little glamour around — most of the audience consisted of unshaven men. "We don't encourage the star system," said a cultural adviser to the country's largest studio. "And glamour is definitely out." Sitting talking to him in a tightly packed, headscarf, a long overcoat, leggings and black stockings. I could see his point. More liberal Iran might be, but as a woman I can't wait to get on that aircraft out.



If age won't wither them, ageism will

Commentary

Mark Lawson

LET me offer you — to borrow a concept from Have I Got News For You? — photographs of five people who were in the news last week. They are: Senator Bob Dole, Rick Parfitt of Status Quo, Paul McCartney of the Beatles, the theatre director Trevor Nunn, and the footballer Robbie Fowler.

Who is the odd one out? All right, time's up. The answer is Robbie Fowler. The reason is that Dole, Parfitt, McCartney and Nunn were all criticised last week for being too old.

Even a cursory inspection of culture reveals that birthdates matter deeply. The only possible explanation for the fact that media reports in Britain and America rou-

tinely state the age of all named is that consumers are being invited to make a moral judgment based on the number of years that the person involved has on the clock. This is not necessarily a matter of prejudice. It is sociologically useful to know if a criminal is 15 or a victim 96: it helps us to know where crime is going. A speech by a 35-year-old backbencher and a 65-year-old MP, even if identically phrased and received, have quite different meanings in career terms.

What is most startling about Bob Dole's advance towards the Republican presidential nomination is that we have been told for so long that modern culture favours the young; that "ageism" has replaced sexism and racism as acceptable bigotry. And yet a political party which is hungry for power is currently proposing, for the most exhausting job in world politics, a 72-year-old with one useless arm and a history of prostate cancer. President Kennedy's inaugural address famously declared that "today the torch has passed to a new generation of Americans". Presumably President Dole's would begin: "Please can we have our torch back?"

But age, in politics, is a complicated calculation. Historically, modern electorates

have been happiest — or, at least, parties have been keenest to offer them — candidates who were very much citizens, would be beginning to edge or to be edged towards retirement. The average age of the 10 post-war British prime ministers on the day they kissed hands with the Queen is 58.7, with a high of Churchill (77) and a low of Wilson (48). The average age of the 10 post-war American presidents at the hour of their first oath of office is 56.6, with a high of Reagan (69) and a low of Kennedy (43). Both of these means are threatened by the forthcoming elections which, in Blair and Dole, offer the possibility of Britain's youngest leader of modern times and America's oldest shaking hands some time in 1997.

Commonsense fits history, though, and surely against Dole. The most recent world leaders to serve into their late seventies — Ronald Reagan and François Mitterrand — are now known to have been suffering from Alzheimer's Disease and prostate cancer respectively while at their desks. Also, one of the reasons that modern leadership is so demanding is the threat to medical and pension provision which is posed by an ageing population and one in which, in many industries, there is an unofficial retire-

ment or redundancy age of around 45. The crisis of the modern worker is the need to build up, in a shorter working life, a longer pension. These are the kind of economic worries to take at least five years off a leader's age, so you want one who can afford to lose them. The statistics above show that politics regards late middle age as a perfect plateau between imperativeness and crankiness. Sport normally sees the early 20s as the beginning of wisdom, although Australian and sub-continental cricket willingly bloods players at 18, which England never would. Pop music — as Status Quo and the Beatles have just found out — is uncomfortable with the concept of rockers in their fifth and sixth decades. Young bands used to sing that they hoped they died before they got old, and Radio 1 clearly wishes they had kept the promise.

Status Quo plan legal action against the station. But what they have perhaps failed to realise is that modern pop music offers a fine example of how generational shifts can be accommodated. In the early decades of the form, it was generally assumed that, by the age of 40, performers would retire and consumers graduate to classical music — or Radio 2 instead of Radio 1.

IN FACT, pop music has become a perfect illustration of the power of the so-called "grey pound". Middle-aged punters have grown up with nostalgia and psychological decay-delaying to buy and watch music by ageing rockers. A web of greatest hits compilations and retro radio stations has grown up to serve them. Last week, Saga, master of vacations for the superannuated, announced plans for Saga Radio. Nobody's telling Status Quo to get out, they're telling them to move over. Radio 1's decision is not restraint of trade, but targeting of trade. Trevor Nunn, 56, was reportedly shocked by the media references to his age when he was appointed to run the Royal National Theatre last week. But the RNT itself had, perhaps unwisely, trumpeted in its press release that he had once been the "youngest-ever artistic director of the RSC." A man's attitude to age, however, obviously depends heavily on his relative position between the cradle and the grave.

Trevor Nunn's 56 years have seemed a lot to some journalistic observers, but perhaps weighed less heavily with Sir Michael Palliser (73), Michael Codron (65), Dipak Nandy (60), Tom Stoppard (58) and Michael Oliver (58), the members of the committee which recruited him. My own view is that Trevor Nunn is clearly no Bob Dole, but that it is a brutal fact that, in the arts, a person's very best work tends to have been done between the ages of 30 and 50. There are grace notes in late work, it is true, but the career of almost any writer, film or theatre director or artist will turn out to obey this rule.

Nature itself openly favours youth. An eminent geneticist told me that in a biologically ideal world, males would freeze samples of their sperm at 15 (the seed is at its purest and least likely to create defective embryos at the stage between shaving and learning to drive) and retrieve them later for procreation. Nature, I think, would not vote for Bob Dole or listen to Status Quo.

Oh, and before anyone writes to ask, the answer is 33. Older readers may conclude that I will grow out of these views.

Friends I am missing already



Paul Foot

MISERABLE Monday. Tonight's episode is the last in the BBC2 drama series Our Friends In The North, which has absorbed me more completely than anything else in 30 years' telly-watching. Even the Daily Mail gives the series a rare four stars, though its reviewers complain on behalf of "those of us who don't see the dilemmas of socialism as altogether central to life".

As someone who does see socialism as altogether central to life, I've been puzzling about the political theme of the series, which is, I think, something like this. People in the North East of England, like people everywhere, are expected to work hard all their lives for next to nothing. The full fruits of the labour of the rich and powerful are to be shared out among the poor. The rich and powerful minority who use their wealth and power singlemindedly to increase both...

tion, comes from more dependable Old Labour. A council stalwart loosely based on the former Labour MP for Blyth, Eddie loses an official Labour candidature because he opposes the "Smith-Poulson" corruption. He stands as "Independent Labour" and is triumphantly elected. He intends to "set a light" to Tory sleaze by exposing a corrupt ring of parliamentary lobbyists, but is forced to abandon his project when he discovers that they have infiltrated his own office.

Another side of Old Labour is portrayed by Mary, steady, principled and determined, who becomes council leader and is forced by powers beyond her control to slash the very services she went into politics to expand. I have no idea what happens in tonight's instalment, but I believe that Old Labour, which promised to try to change the world and failed, will be replaced by New Labour, which has stopped promising. All this is summed up by George, who ends up as a drunken tramp and sets his hostel bed alight. When asked who told him to do such a terrible thing, he replies: "The Labour Party", then adds: "I think that's why they lost the election again. They ask people to do daft things... They want to seize the power but they can't."

The series throws down a challenge to those who believe that a cruel and greedy economic system can be improved by a handful of well-meaning people who make their way to the top and try to change it from there. It is the old story of reformers who go to Parliament to change the world and end up changing only themselves.

But there is nothing stale, pessimistic or even disillusioning about it. It is a political drama; but its stage is not the House of Commons nor the council chamber, but the council flat, the old people's home, the poverty-stricken, desperate inner cities of Thatcher's and Major's Britain. The poor there, unlike their representatives, are real; and from them, despite all the despairs and defeats of the 1980s and 1990s, there emerges a lingering, powerful hope that the Great People Robbery won't be tolerated for too much longer.

NOT everyone understands the stock market crash in the United States, so can I explain? It's because too many people have jobs. Disturbing figures from the US Commerce Department show a fall in unemployment from 5.3 per cent to 5.3 per cent, and, even worse, that 70,000 new jobs were created in February. "Many economists believe that this is dangerously close to full employment," says the International Herald Tribune. Please cut this sentence out and quote it next time you hear Tories saying how concerned they are about unemployment.

John Grieve Smith believes that introducing a pay policy will be Labour's greatest challenge and, below, Andrew Glyn wonders if taxation is the big issue

Coming in on the money

WHEN Harold Wilson took office in 1964 a devaluation of sterling became the great unmentionable. Today there is another issue which is in danger of similar treatment — pay policy. Or at least it was, until Peter Mandelson and Roger Liddle, in their recent book The Blair Revolution, raised the question in a guarded way, appealing not just in unemployment but in insecurity, casualisation and low pay.

Labour must embrace a radically different approach. This involves not only more expansionary monetary and monetary policies and measures to stimulate new capacity, but also a more co-operative approach to all aspects of economic and industrial policy including pay bargaining.

watershed down by any general attempt to maintain existing differentials. The second is that the percentage increase in the minimum wage each year is bound to have some impact on the "going rate" in the pay round.

A forum is needed where the government, the TUC and the CBI can discuss economic strategy. Such a forum should discuss the general level of pay increases each year in the context of the proposed medium-term strategy and annual economic assessment, and agree on general guidelines for pay negotiations. These should include guidance on the circumstances in which substantial deviations from the going-rate could be justified. Such guidance would make clear to employers and workers, in firms or industries where productivity is increasing faster than average, that part of these gains must be passed on in lower prices rather than higher wages, if people working in sectors like health or education are to enjoy any gains.

There is a case for setting up a new advisory body to monitor and influence pay negotiations, with responsibilities both in the private and in the public sector, encompassing the present pay review bodies and the proposed minimum wage commission. The

The real costs of public spending

SINCE 1979 the proportion of people living in households with less than half the average income has more than doubled. Public services have been squeezed, jeopardising their quality. An incoming Labour government will be expected to reverse these trends. Can this be achieved without higher taxation?

The Conservative onslaught on public spending has included two important features: It has linked pensions and other benefits to inflation rather than earnings. The consequent decline in the relative value of benefits now "saves" over £20 billion, whilst contributing to the unparalleled rise in inequality. It has held down pay in the public sector. This has helped to restrain the relative cost of public services whilst adding to the pressure on maintaining their quality.

However these and other economies have had to be used to pay for increases in public spending elsewhere; for example the deteriorating labour market has doubled numbers on benefits. The share of taxation in gross national product, at 36 per cent, is now some 2 per cent higher than in 1979.

It is often suggested that the public finances can be rescued by faster growth. However, two senses of faster growth have to be distinguished. Faster growth in the short term, based on increasing employment, reduces government spending on the unemployed and raises the tax base. It thus provides additional resources without the need to raise tax rates. But this depends on expansion being led by the private sector. If the weakness of the private sector requires public spending to take the lead, then the conse-

quent rise in tax revenues will be insufficient. In the longer-term, if supply-side measures succeeded in raising the underlying growth rate of productivity, could this finance an expansion of public services without the need for higher taxation? Such a "dividend" is largely illusory. Faster growth does not automatically provide the resources for benefits to make up the ground already lost in relation to average earnings; to fund such a catch-up the share of taxation has to rise. Moreover much of the rest of public spending goes to pay the wages of those who provide the services. Unless their relative position is to decline continuously, their earnings (and thus the cost to society) will go up in real terms in line with the economy's average productivity. Employing more teachers, for example, to reduce class sizes below 20,

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10 OBITUARIES



The entertainer... George Burns's tenacity, stemming from a tough childhood vaudeville training, endeared him to audiences for more than 10 decades PHOTOGRAPH: JANE BOWN

George Burns

Laugh of longevity

WE ALL knew that George Burns was very old indeed — since 1975 he based much of his stand-up material around his longevity — but it still comes as something of a surprise to realise that the celebrated comedian, who has died aged 100, within halting distance of the next century made his first appearance before the public in 1903, within halting distance of the previous one. An instinctive feeling for what was funniest, wonderful timing — that deadpan stare behind the long cigar — and perhaps, above all, the courage and tenacity that stemmed from a tough childhood vaudeville training, contributed to his success and endeared him to the public over so many years. But Burns was the first to admit, and indeed boast, that luck played a big part in his career. "First of all you've got to have talent," he once said. "Then you've got to marry her." And the talent he referred to was, of course, the brilliant and unusual Gracie Allen. "With Gracie I had the easiest job of any straight man in history," he said, self-deprecatingly. "I only had to know two lines — 'How your brother did what?' and 'There was, naturally, a lot more to it than that. He also said, more realistically (in 1968 a period between Gracie's death and his solo comeback): "We did an act called 'sixty-four'. Nobody knew what that meant, but I did — Gracie was 60 per cent of the act and I was 40 per cent." Nathan Birnbaum was born into a New York vaudeville family of 12 children and started singing with the Pee Wee Quintet at the age of seven. By the time he was in his teens he was a full-time pro: "I did anything to stay in

show business," he said. "If I had to be a single, I'd do a single. If I had to be a two-act, I'd do a two act. If I had to work with a seal, I'd work with a seal. I wanted to stay in the business. He continued in this way for some years, and in 1923 met and teamed up with Gracie Allen, the daughter of a San Francisco show business family. Initially, he was the comic and she the "straightman". "Even her straight lines got laughs," Burns remarked. "She had a very funny delivery. Very sharp and quick and cute, and they laughed at her straight lines — and they didn't laugh at my jokes. I knew right away that there was a feeling of something between the audience and Gracie. They loved her and, not being a fool and wanting to smoke cigars for the rest of my life, I gave her the jokes. Gracie could do the wildest jokes and make people believe them — no matter how mad the jokes were, when Gracie told them you would believe that they were true." Oddly, the great Gracie Allen had almost no interest in show business offstage. She never told jokes or talked about touring or lighting or the box-office. The consum-

mate skill of her husband (they married in 1926) lay in structuring the act for Gracie. Burns: "If Gracie had an exit and you were supposed to stop her and say 'Wait a minute, Gracie, I want to ask you something, and if you forget your line, she would go right into the dressing room and take off her make-up. She only remembered her lines if you remembered yours." In a distracted, little-girl

George always made sure that his material was excellent — the familiar cigar was now used unlit as a device he pretended to smoke while using the vital seconds to regain his breath

George Burns on... GRACIE: "Offstage, I used to make Gracie laugh. She'd wake me at 3am and say, 'George, I can't sleep, make me laugh.' So I'd make love to her — and she laughed." AGE: "Age to me means nothing. I can't get old, I'm working." CIGARS: "I smoke 15 cigars a day. The doctor who told me to stop is dead. At my age, to be able to get your cigar into its holder is exciting." GOD: "Why shouldn't I play God? Anything I do at my age is a miracle." HIS CENTENARY: "What do you give a man who's been so blessed? Another 100 years? A night with Sharon Stone?" DEATH: "I don't believe in dying — it's been done."

right that she went so young, and that I've been given so many years to spend without her." He never remarried. Gracie was an act you couldn't follow. After Gracie's death George Burns took on the role of raconteur, telling funny stories, punctuated by a puff or a tap on his cigar, on TV and in nightclubs and by the late sixties had concentrated on TV production. The amazing Indian summer comeback that brought him before a generation perhaps only dimly aware of Gracie Allen, and led to his becoming one of the world's best-loved entertainers, came in the mid-seventies when Jack Benny (a contemporary and dearly-loved friend of Burns) died and a replacement was needed to play opposite Walter Matthau in the movie version of Neil Simon's *The Sunshine Boys*. The role of the ancient but totally serene straight man, coming out from retirement for one last get-together with his shambling, irascible former partner, seemed heaven-sent for him, and all the magnificent timing was still there. Through the early part of the film Matthau constantly berates Burns for calling him a "putz". Burns

agrees not to use the word. Then, in the dressing room, Matthau says something spectacularly dim. Burns fixes him with a pitying stare, takes a stick of greasypaint and slowly writes on the mirror "PUTZ". It was a wonderful sequence, and Burns fully deserved the Academy Award he received for it at the age of 80. More films followed, most of them far less noteworthy (the *Oh God!* series, for example, in which Burns played the Almighty dressed in running shoes and a golf cap) but Burns devoted much of his later years to occasional concerts and chat shows. At the age of 98 he was still making stage appearances. He always made sure that his material (mostly one-liners) was excellent — the familiar cigar was now used unlit as a device he pretended to smoke while using the vital seconds to regain his breath. Burns was also the author or co-author of a number of witty and successful books including a memoir, *Gracie: A Love Story* (1986). Preparations were made for 100th birthday shows to be held in Las Vegas and at the London Palladium, but after a fall in 1994 his health declined and the shows were cancelled. Burns, suffering from flu, was unable to attend a gala in his honour held a few days before his 100th birthday. George Burns's career on the popular stage stands unrivalled during 10 decades. He was half of one of the greatest double acts, he never gave less than full value, and he was so very old when he died that we can say cheerfully, and with no more than a tinge of sadness: "Goodnight, George."

Stephen Dixon George Burns, comedian, born January 20, 1896; died March 9, 1996

Daniel Cunningham

Breathtaking experiments

DANIEL Cunningham, who has died aged 76, was a medical academic who turned to human physiology as his primary interest, focusing on the control of breathing. He will be remembered for having made major contributions to a "black box" quantitative description of the respiratory control system in man. His work was progressively modified, as underlying physiological mechanisms were revealed in experiments by other scientists on lower animals. He took pride in his belief that man was the appropriate "organism" for his studies. Dan's work continued in the tradition of the human physiology "school" — focusing on respiratory and metabolic studies, which was founded by J S Haldane within the Oxford Laboratory of Physiology, and continued by C G Douglas — Dan's senior colleague for the first three years of his academic career. Together with Brian Lloyd and some remarkable undergraduate students (including Roger Bannister — the first four-minute miler), Dan developed a means of studying breathing with controlled values of the carbon dioxide (CO₂) pressure within the lung — an approximation to the pressure of CO₂ prevailing in the arterial blood. This feat, made possible by the construction of a homemade CO₂ analyser, permitted the determination of the amount of breathing of a hypoxic mixture or air, with and without rises in body temperature, and with and without changes in blood acidity — all in relation to a controlled CO₂ pressure. The extraordinary instability in the breathing of air with the lung CO₂ pressure at a threshold level was also documented. The results of these studies allowed Dan and Brian Lloyd to develop equations applicable to normal man at rest that described the quantitative relationship between the amount of breathing, the lung CO₂ and O₂ pressures, and the acidity of the blood. These equations provided a yardstick by which breathing during exercise could be compared with values found in resting man. The underlying mechanisms of the ventilatory increase with exercise particularly intrigued Dan and towards the end of the seventies he hosted the first international conference on Exercise and Ventilation at Oxford. Dan Cunningham's research was not confined to studies in breathing. His earliest research had taken place immediately after the second world war within two years of medical qualification. While leading a nutritional survey team in Germany he was able to demonstrate that the swelling seen with bumper plasma protein concentrations, but was associated with the passing of large volumes of urine during the night. The intriguing findings were never published because the British authorities, inexplicably, destroyed the data. Later in his career, in 1948, in collaboration with P Sleight of the Cardiac Department at the Radcliffe Infirmary, Dan studied heart rate control by cardiovascular reflexes during exercise. The results contributed to an understanding of why the heart rate rises with exercise. Dan Cunningham was born in Kansli, India into a family distinguished in medicine and in the services. His father was director of a state institute, and his grandfather a professor of Anatomy. He came to Oxford in 1928 on a Nuffield Medical Exhibition to Worcester College. His desire to qualify quickly, because of the advent of war, led to him taking the Edinburgh clinical course; he graduated MB, ChB in 1943. Joining the RAMC and the 3rd Para Brigade ensured that he had a turbulent war; he was "dropped" on D-day.

RETURNING to Oxford in 1946 with the rank of major, he obtained a First Class Honours in Physiology by 1947, after which he was elected to the Radcliffe Medical Fellowship of University College. He remained a Fellow till 1967; he had by then become Senior Fellow and Vice-Master. He always remained a devoted undergraduate lecturer, much to the dismay of his many students. Dan had a close and loving relationship with his wife Judith. She was a professional violinist and he revelled in her playing. At home he was a vigorous and humane debater with political views just to the left of centre. He was a devoted family man who obtained immense pleasure from the successes of his daughter, Dr Jane Cunningham, an art historian, and his son Dr John Cunningham, a consultant physician.

Daniel John Chapman Cunningham, physiologist, born October 21, 1919; died February 26, 1996

Birthdays

Douglas Adams, author, 44; Geoffrey Blainey, Australian historian, 66; Louise Brough, US tennis champion, 75; Michael Cartles, Conservative MP, 58; Sir Kenneth Dover, Hellenist, chancellor, St Andrews University, 76; D J Enright, author, poet and critic, 78; Peter Eyre, actor, 54; Allan Ganley, jazz drummer, 65; David Gentleman, designer and painter, 66; Margaret Herbinson, former Labour government minister, 89; Raymond Jackson (Jack), cartoonist, 68; Lord Lawson, former Chancellor of the Exchequer, 84; Sir Fitzroy Maclean, former diplomat, politician, traveller, 86; Sir Henry Marking, former managing director, British Airways, 76; Timothy Mason, chief executive, London Arts Board, 51; Bobby McFerrin, jazz singer, 46; Rupert Murdoch, chief executive, News Inter-

Death Notices

ARMYtage, Frances (nee Horfield), peacefully in her sleep on March 6th aged 84, beloved wife of the late Captain Henry (Tim) John and Fern, Horfield (died 24th). Burial service at St. Paul's Church, Totter, Sheffield on Monday March 18 at 2.30pm. No flowers by request. Donations in lieu for the Historical Association, Napier Archaeological Society or South Wood Funeral Service, 846 Ecclestone Road, Sheffield S11 2JL. Tel: 0114 273 4252. Fax: 0114 273 4252.

Jackdaw



Big bang

MEGACULTURE is odd. Economics does not really explain it. During the 1980s there was money for extravaganzas; cash is tighter now, and yet big scale is still in. Size is thought to be a selling point in a crowded cultural marketplace. But it is not obvious why "the best and biggest" should appeal more than "the best". Perhaps it was coincidence that several things in art and books got bigger at the same time. Various supply-side factors were at work. Take biography. For contemporary subjects, a biographer's sources are fuller and time

Funny you

Q: WHEN YOU begin a new script, do you know in advance how the narrative is going to work out? A: Yes, always. If you just have a good idea but don't develop it, you end up with a 20-page script, and you're forced to spin it out artificially. Writing is more fun than asking yourself: "What story am I telling? Where is it all going to lead?" But it's something I'm going to do. I need to know where I'm going more than how I'm going to get there. Q: Are you aware of the broader themes you deal with in your films, irrespective of the story line? A: No, I discover them when

Netarchy

THE ONLINE world has always equated itself with the frontier. Like any fringe community, it does not take kindly to supervision from afar... A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace issued forth from the mailbox of John Perry Barlow — the sometime cattle rancher and Grateful Dead lyricist who co-founded the Electronic Frontier Foundation, an online civil liberties group... Addressed to the "governments of the industrial world," it declares "the global social space we are building to be naturally independent of the tyrannies you seek to impose on us..." Barlow's declaration did not pop out of nowhere. The notion of the Internet as a quasi-sovereign entity has been kicked around ever since people realized that the structure of the network itself rendered it resistant to regulation or control by any individual state or central authority. Lately, the rhetoric of Net nationalism has heated up. For instance, Rules of the Net, a sprightly

Israel's abyss

and savvy new book about internet culture by the late Thomas Mandel and Gerard Van der Leun, delivers a mock Declaration of Independence in its opening chapter. Theirs is different in tone from Barlow's, but similar in motivation: "On the Net, we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all users are created equal..." Like Barlow, who describes cyberspace as a "civilization of the mind," Mandel and Van der Leun call the online community "an information nation; a nation not located on the earth but in the mind". This conceit is not only seductive, it is based on a substantially accurate reading of the facts. The Net is an unprecedentedly efficient connector of people on the level of ideas; it creates communities, based on shared interests, that transcend the mundane limits of time and geography. And so it has acquired a genuine, although metaphorical, sense of place for its habitues. Threaten that place with unwanted restrictions and the talk gets rebellious fast. From Independence Daze by Scott Rosenberg in the online Journal Salon (http://www.salon1995.com).

Table manners

IAMA WHORE. All waitrons are whores. I'm not ashamed. Waiting tables is one of the most socially acceptable and valued forms of prostitution in the world. Of course, we generally don't sell sex, but

Jackdaw

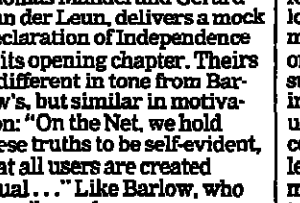


Table manners

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100 YEARS

QUICK

numbers and ride

Handwritten Arabic text: مکتبہ اسلامیہ

Rugby Union

Freed by perfect outside break

Frank Keating examines the abdication of Will Carling as England captain and realises that everything was pointing to it

AN EXIT coup, out of the blue and exactly on cue, Will Carling's announcement was perfectly planned and executed. He decided on it after England's stately disciplined and equally strategic victory last Saturday in Edinburgh.

THE CARLING YEARS

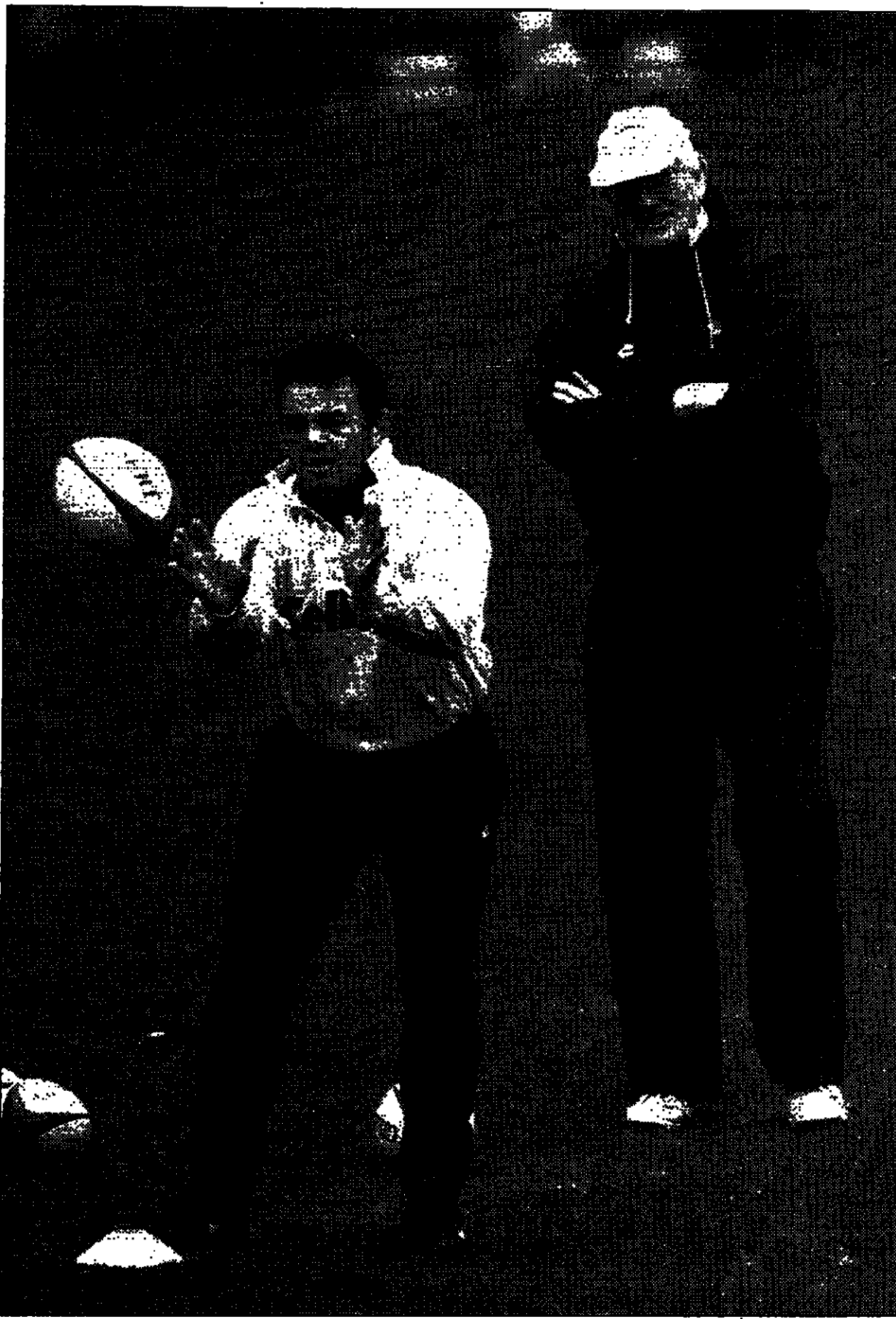
- 1985: Born Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire
1984: Leaves Sedburgh for Durham University. Captains England at 18-group level.
1986: Selected for Northern division.
1987: Plays for England B.
1988: Graduates with degree in psychology. Buys way out of Army for £8,000 when told to spend six months without rugby at Sandhurst. Wins first full England cap in 10-9 defeat by France in January. In November becomes youngest English captain in 57 years. Leads England to 28-19 win over Australia.

decisive political strike did that with knobs on.

Any student of Carling's style should have realised how yesterday's announcement was on the cards. A year ago to the month — weeks before the flatulent 57 hoo-ha — he said in a throwaway line that he longed to enjoy one, just one, last season of international rugby in the matchless of the squad and without the burden of leadership. One shrugged, not twigging he meant it, nor its relevance. And that could well come to pass, for his rugby shows few signs of losing its dynamic.

His deliberations last weekend were not novel. When Geoff Cooke appointed the callow centre, in 1988, to be captain until after the 1991 World Cup, he would have been ready to step down at the end of the season and might well have done so had the squad broken up then. But friends like Andrew and Halliday, and the engine-room stalwarts he so admired like Teague and Winterbottom, stayed on and so he did. Again, after his disappointing 1993 Lions tour, he wondered if he had been around too long as England captain and telephoned Cooke, who told him to stay. Yesterday, he was generous about his collaboration with Cooke.

At the start of this season, when Rowell posted the first of his post-World Cup squads, the announcement contained the name W D C Carling without the parentheses and "captain" after it. He must have thought that significant. If Carling began this season in the dark, it was Rowell who, at the end of it, was in the dark about Carling's leaving of it.



Handing over... Will Carling finally decides to turn his back on the England coach Jack Rowell

me, this challenge we are embarking on together. Newspapers say rugby is an individual thing. Bollocks! It's not. It's collective. It's a team,

a group, a brotherhood. And it's pride. This match we play for each other. I'm proud not half so much to be captain as to part of this squad of

friends. When I come off this pitch in France, it will be you I look straight in the eye. Each one of you. And it will be a look of intense pride with

which we gaze strongly back at each other — and we'll be hugely proud of what we've achieved, hugely proud to the end of our days.

Challenge Cup semi-final: St Helens 24, Widnes 14

McRae finds quick way to Wembley

SAUN McRAE, the Australian, has once again led the Canberra Raiders, on Saturday secured his new team's place at Wembley after only four games in charge at St Helens, which must be some sort of record.

Image of Eric Hughes, who was bundled into redundancy only days after coaching St Helens to an admirable defeat in January's Royal Trophy final. One of the reasons Saints brought in McRae was to eradicate the defensive problems that had undermined the club so often in the past and which, presumably, they felt Hughes could not rectify.

Bulls — it just by appears not how far McRae has succeeded in striking a balance between attacking flair and defensive security. The Bulls have potential. For the moment judgment will have to be reserved. McRae, as a spirited Widnes side emphasised, still has plenty to do.

But while Widnes might not have done quite enough to deserve a place in the final there was an understandable sense of injustice at the try denied to Devereux in the 28th minute. When McCurrie's pin-point pass was ruled forward. If it was the referee must have measured it in millimetres — it became the game's defining moment.

hind when Hume touched down on the right after Spruce had produced a fine tackle to halt the dangerous Newlove on the other side of the field. Hume, who has been out for 10 months after having a knee reconstructed, appears to have emerged with the joint and his finishing skills in good order, though an early try through Sullivan was cancelled by a damaged ankle.

nothing in the 53rd minute. David Hulme, playing only his second game since November, completed an impressive return but either side of his score were touchdowns for Hammond and Northey. Saints' immediate worry concerns Newlove. He did not score but looked worth every penny of his £500,000 record transfer fee. His performance lost a little of its gloss, however, after he was placed on report for an alleged high tackle.

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Taunton runners and riders

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details including horse name, jockey, and odds.

Plumpton seven-race programme

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Challenge Cup semi-final: St Helens 24, Widnes 14

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Plumpton seven-race programme

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Racing

Brook support dries up

Chris Hawkins

BEFORE any big race, rumours invariably abound about the well-being of the leading contenders. But there is an unmistakable undercurrent of anxiety about Smurfit Champion Hurdle favourite Alderbrook.

Kim Bailey, the trainer, strongly denies there is anything wrong but curiously Richard Dunwoody has agreed to ride the outsider Squire Silk for Andy Turner should anything happen to the favourite.

Paul Cahery would have ridden Squire Silk but a whip suspension has ruled out the Irish jockey from the first two days of the meeting.

Hill's have pushed Alderbrook out to 11-10, with their top post man David Hood reporting that they cannot take a penny for him.

It may be nothing more than worries that the ground is getting too fast for Alderbrook, who has had an operation to remove a chip bone from a joint in both his front legs and has always liked some give. But rain is forecast for tonight and weather prospects for the three days of the Festival are not good.

While rain would suit Alderbrook tomorrow, it is unlikely to be to the advantage of One Man in the Gold Cup. Being essentially a spring-eared speed-horse, he is best served by good ground and if the going were to deteriorate there is an additional worry about his stamina for three and a quarter miles.

Coral's make him a 5-4 chance and have knocked out Imperial Call from 7-2 to 4-1 with another rumour doing the rounds is that Fergie Sutherland's chaser having a bad back.

Monsieur Le Cure has been clipped a couple of points to 10-1 but it would have to be a bog for this plodder to win. The top favourite is Dragoon, whose odds have been halved from 20-1 in the last couple of weeks, makes more sense. The Hennessy winner sojourned in Pisa for five weeks during the freeze-up here and has been pleasing trainer Charlie Brooks in his work since his return.

Martin Pipe had slightly better news yesterday of Dragoon who pulled up stiff after working on Friday. Pipe reports her moving more readily and is more optimistic she will make the line-up in tomorrow's Arkle Chase.

Betting on the top jockey is, of course, dominated by Richard Dunwoody, who with an array of mouth-watering points is 8-15 with Coral, followed by Charlie Swan at 7-3. Jamie Osborne, Richard Johnson and Mick Fitzgerald are all bracketed at 12-1, with David Bridgwater at 16's and the season's leading rider Tony McCoy on 20-1.

Johnson has come in for plenty of rides for the David Nicholson stable following the injury to Adrian Maguire but his big hope is the Noel Chance-trained Mr Mulligan, the 6-4 favourite for Wednesday Sun Alliance Chase.

By way of a change, when last seen in his box Mr Mulligan still had four legs and they were all working.

Cigar, the 1995 American Horse of the Year, continues to make excellent progress after bruising a foot last month and remains on course for the Dubai World Cup on March 27. The remains on course for the Dubai World Cup on March 27. The remains on course for the Dubai World Cup on March 27.

Venetia's Say
IRISH chaser Who's To Say has joined first-season trainer Venetia Williams in time to run in the Grand Annual Cup at Cheltenham on Thursday. "He's tough, and with 10st 6lb must have a chance," said bloodstock agent Francis Ransom.

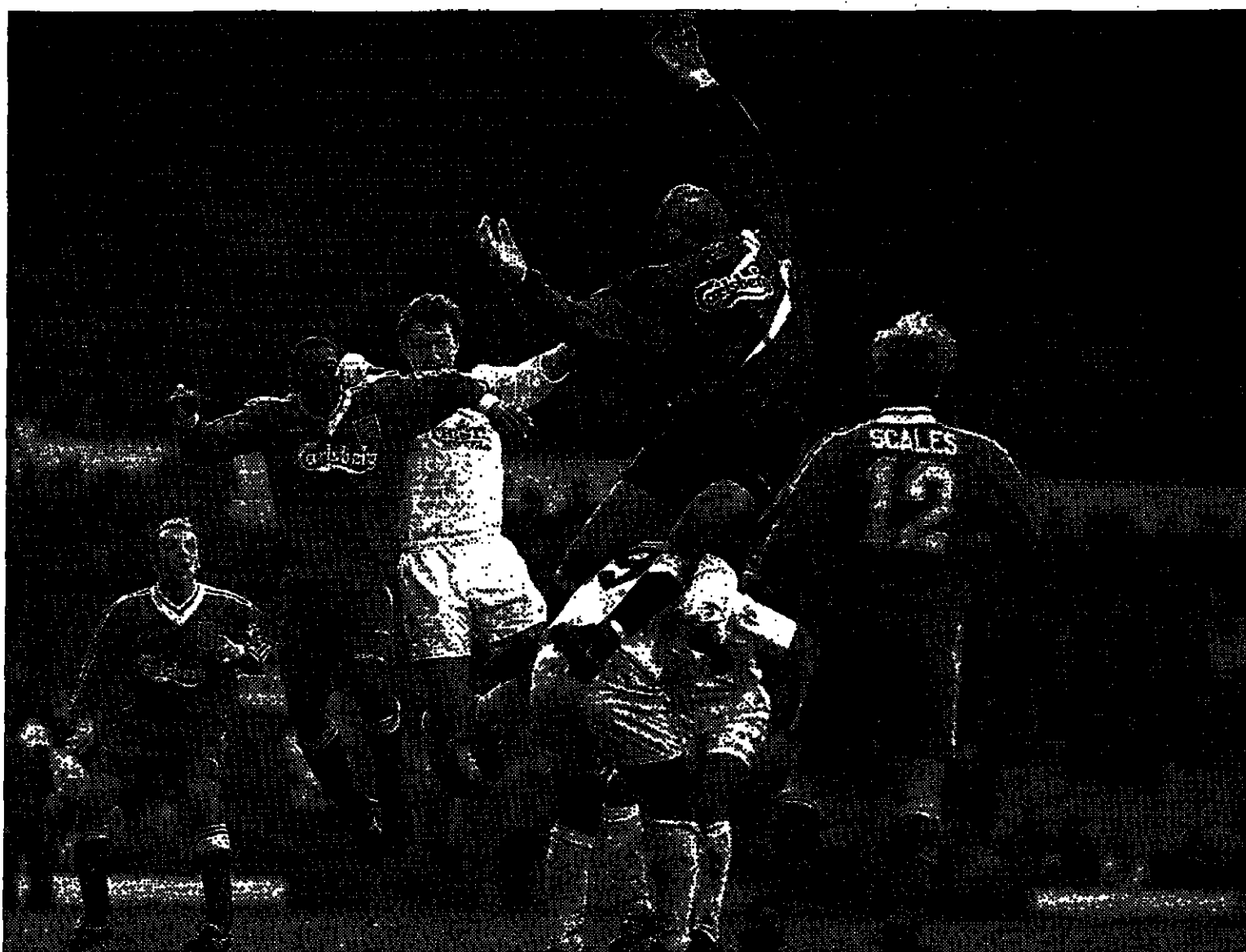
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RACING RESULTS SERVICE 168
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FA CUP SOCCER

Cantona may face Gullit

THE enthralling prospect of a Ruud Gullit-Eric Cantona clash emerged from yesterday's complicated FA Cup semi-final draw, with no definite last-four tie yet in sight.

If Gullit's Chelsea overcome Wimbledon in a sixth-round replay a week tomorrow they will face Cantona's Manchester United - provided the Frenchman's side knock out Southampton tonight.



Cup support factor... Liverpool's goalkeeper David James gets a lift on Tony Yeboah's back at Elland Road yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL STEELE

Sixth round: Chelsea 2, Wimbledon 2

Nomads homing in on Wembley again

Commentary

David Lacey

BATTERED by blizzards, protracted by postponements and replays, scorched by the television schedules and debased by penalty shoot-outs, the FA Cup still enthralled.

In no other football competition on earth would it be possible to go to a match happily anticipating the skills of Ruud Gullit but come away more intrigued by the performance of Vinnie Jones.

The Wanderers, who were the first winners of the Cup in 1872, were not quite the nomads the name implies. So Wimbledon would achieve some sort of uniqueness if they triumphed at Wembley on May 11.

Nobody who watched Saturday's match could have doubted the possibility. At the same time Chelsea's ability to win the replay at Selhurst on Wednesday would not be underestimated. If they can get their passing game going as well as they did at Newcastle in a third-round replay Wimbledon's last Cup ambitions may yet be living on borrowed time.

Crucially, Chelsea should have David Lee back in the middle of their defence. Lee's ability not only to break up attacks but to bring the ball out and use it constructively was badly missed on Saturday after goal-keeping in the morning. With Lee around, Chelsea would have been better equipped to stem the flow of Wimbledon movements which threatened to bury their Cup hopes before half-time.

At 37, Harford is more daunting than ever. His knees may be ravaged by time, he means at referees and linesmen, and after he had been substituted on Saturday he got into a barney with opposition fans and the Chelsea bench, but for 77 minutes he is playing at his best. Hughes nipped in smartly enough to bring the scores level, Furlong having struck a post from Wise's pass. Earlier Furlong had drawn a fine, diving save from Sullivan and later Spencer hit the bar. But the news of Ian Wright's transfer request is bound to rekindle interest in the Arsenal striker.

The 2-1 lead that Chelsea held for less than a minute was a triumph of luck over judgment, the latter having momentarily deserted the referee Graham Poll, who showed refreshing signs of abandoning his season's mission to achieve more bookings than the Beatles.

Wimbledon's Sullivan, Cunningham, Perry, Black and Searcy, left the game if goalkeepers are bopped from handling headed back passes. The referees are still at odds with themselves over what constitutes passes played back by feet.

Premiership: Aston Villa 4, QPR 2

Wilkins envies ramshackle Villa

Russell Thomas

RAY WILKINS does not like using the dreaded R-word. Perhaps the fixture list has uttered it for him. After familiar failure at Aston Villa comes what Wilkins called "a nice easy one" - Manchester United.

How Rangers would prefer some of Villa's current problems. "We're spluttering," admitted Brian Little, noting the team which until recently was the meanest in the Premiership. Unlike Rangers, Villa have the forward equipment to offset defensive damage. In possessing Dwight Yorke they are positively blessed.



Yorke... Villa's 'jewel'

Yorke's 22 goals have illuminated Villa's triple advance on Europe. The FA Cup route, which takes Villa to Nottingham Forest on Wednesday, is threatened by midfield losses, with Scoullan suffering a knee ligament damage that could threaten his place in the Coca-Cola Cup final in a fortnight's time.

West Ham United 2, Middlesbrough 0

Barmby back to basics

Neil Robinson

THERE are two ways of looking at Nick Barmby. Either you take the Bryan Robson view that normal service will be resumed shortly or you see him as a peripheral figure, shorn of hair, of confidence and in need of a basic overhaul. Whatever the line, Barmby is under review for all the wrong reasons.

The Riverside two days before Christmas they have failed to score on nine occasions and managed only five goals. Of those, Barmby and Juninho have netted one apiece while Forjort, their striker-in-chief, has scored eight.

Dowie's opener on 75 seconds was the first in the second half, the referee awarded a dubious penalty when the ball bobbed up from the pitch and struck Cox's hand. If Mr Reed believed it a deliberate handball, this is now an expected full-back or even send him off?

Everton 2, Coventry City 2

Atkinson's men dig deep into their reserves

Cynthia Bateman

BIG JOE and Big Ron shared the spoils, thus averting any embarrassment yesterday when the two old muckers held their regular Sunday morning telephone conversation to discuss Saturday fortunes, or more often, in City's case, misfortunes.

In the second half Coventry made ground against a fragmented Everton but it was Strachan's influence in the last 20 minutes that swung the balance. The assistant manager inspired a grandstand finish, providing the pass for Salako to cross and Williams to score the equaliser off Short's shoulder with five minutes remaining.

Joe Royle, disappointed with his own men, believes Coventry will beat the drop "because they score goals. It may seem a ridiculous thing to say because they leak goals as well. But the other sides in relegation trouble are not scoring, and they are".

First Division: Sunderland 3, Derby County 0

Super Sunderland must ensure the king stays

Ian Ross

FOR those incurable romantics who still hunger for the so-called golden era of English football when the height of luxury was a leaking pasty which caused third-degree facial burns, there is something magical about a trip to Sunderland.

who has made bricks of substance from straw carried to his feet by the hot air of generations of disenfranchised supporters.

Sunderland swiftly isolated the weak link in the Derby chain. It was the defence - the whole of it - Sunderland made the First Division leaders look very ordinary. Their goals came regularly after fluent, level-headed football.

Cricket

World Cup Quarter Final Coverage 0891 22 88 29

Sport

Fifth-round replay Spurs 1, Nottm F 1 (aet; Forest 3-1 on pens)

Spotlight on Crossley

Martin Thorpe

WHILE some of the Premiership's top teams are striving to give the English playing style a sophisticated makeover, Nottingham Forest continue happily down the Cup catwalk clothed in the old national virtues of team spirit and tenacity.

Saturday's performance came straight from their UEFA Cup wardrobe: defend deep and frequently attack on the counter, concede a goal to a defensive error, clear a shot off the line, watch another cannon off the woodwork and win in a nail-biting finale of seat-edge tension.

It is a good job there are big hearts in the Forest camp, given the stress they make for themselves: close shaves in Munich on Tuesday, a penalty shoot-out on Saturday and more to come. On Wednesday Villa visit Nottingham in the FA Cup sixth round and the following Tuesday Bayern Munich are back. To add to Forest's worries, Cooper will miss Wednesday through suspension while Haaland is injured and doubtful.

still required when he described his winning penalty saves as merely the result of "guessing the right way to dive".

Crossley's past record suggests that he possesses an amazing intuition for this form of combat, highlighted when he dived the right way for all four Tottenham penalties, saving three.

Although Forest passed the ball around better than Spurs, the home team's greater domination was rewarded with three match-winning chances. But Mabbutt shot wide from eight yards, Rosenthal's chip was cleared off the line by Pearce and a 115th-minute ricochet off Slade hit the post, with the Forest captain blocking Rosenthal's goal-bound follow-up.

But McGregor also missed a great chance for Forest, who had gone ahead on nine minutes through Roy's chip over Walker.

Wright's request shakes Highbury

David Lacey

IAN WRIGHT's request for a move after five prolific seasons with Arsenal is the clearest sign yet that at Highbury, sooner rather than later, something or someone has got to go.

Wright submitted a written request for a transfer last Thursday and, according to the Arsenal manager Bruce Rioch, the matter will be discussed at the next board meeting. The player wants to leave before the transfer deadline on March 30, if the club agree to let him go Chelsea can be expected to lead the bidding.

already committed to rebuilding the squad, may be happy to let the player go but Dein, aware of fan reaction, will surely want Wright to stay.

Wright has scored 140 goals for Arsenal, including 19 this season, and remains the team's most talismanic player. His discontent, which has led to several confrontations with Rioch, stems from a partnership with Dennis Bergkamp, the £7.5 million buy from Internazionale, which has rarely gelled.

Scottish Cup, fifth round Celtic 2, Dundee United 1

Thom completes double dose of late agony for United

Patrick Glenn

HAVING a tooth pulled hardly have brought more pain to Dundee United than the goals which Celtic produced in the last two minutes yesterday to decide a pulsating fifth-round tie.

when McNamara took a free-kick wide on the right. Van Hoogdonk, the Premier Division's leading scorer, rose above the crowd to buller his header past Maxwell.

In the last minute McNamara's tackle on Coyle diverted the ball into the path of Thom, who sprinted away from the chasing defenders and, from 15 yards, sent a fierce drive to the left of the goalkeeper.

The unfancied First Division side had led since the 20th minute and were heading into the last four as Celtic deteriorated towards their least impressive domestic performance of the season.

There had been a heavy element of self-destruction about Celtic's predicament. They created and squandered enough opportunities in the first 25 minutes alone to have guaranteed success.

As expected Rangers, Aberdeen and Hearts are the others involved in the semi-final draw. Hearts beat the others to it with last Thursday's win at St Johnstone, with Rangers and Aberdeen following on Saturday.

Handwritten Arabic text at the bottom of the page.

World Cup cricket

Like taking Kandy from a baby

Bargain time for Indian takeaways

Mika Sahay in Faisalabad

ENGLAND were busily... out of the World Cup by Sri Lanka on Saturday. Asked to score a modest 236 to win, Sri Lanka indulged in such an orgy of strokeplay that the job was all but done by the midpoint of the innings...

Who made 88 from just 44

balls, adding 101 to less than 12 overs for the second wicket... Aravinda de Silva (81 of 30 balls) and Arjuna Ranatunga (25 of 17 balls) before Hasban Tillekaratne and Roshan Mahanama saw them home.



The light goes out... Jayasuriya's ducking innings is ended by a Russell stamping off Reeve

England were undone by the lack of cohesion in an experienced batting order that failed to set the sort of innings like adequate. They were then subjected to what amounted to assault and battery by wonderfully gifted Sri Lankan batsmen.

More crucial, however, were a brace of umpiring decisions during the Bangladesh innings. De Freitas can count himself unfortunate with the leg-before decision that went against him, the simple geometry of a left-arm spinner delivering an arm ball from round the wicket eluding the umpire Mahboob Shah.

have given Smith the benefit of the doubt. But the real fault lies in the amateurish reliance of the authorities on pictures from television rather than setting up their own independent monitors.

Such a system is in existence and was in use in South Africa last winter. Called Pana-eye, it involves four static cameras, on poles to avoid interference from the crowds, covering both crossed and side angles.

The setting up, removal and transportation of such systems during the 37 scheduled matches of this tournament would have required, by France's estimation, an outlay of \$1.3 million, which sounds a great deal of money until placed beside the expected profit from the World Cup, the expenditure of around that amount on the laser display at the opening ceremony and the knowledge that if there has to be a third umpire in the interests of accurate decisions, then players

like Smith are going to get the benefit of such. Certainly there is no excuse for the Test and County Cricket Board not to invest in an independent system.

David Hopps on the currying of renewed fervour as champions fall in Bangalore

THE Bangalore street seller wanted 70 rupees and there was no recourse but to walk away. "OK sir, 50 rupees I give you for 60, sir. It is very good flute. Very good sound."

"Sir, you American, sir? Thirty rupees, sir. I make nothing, 30 is all." "English? Sir, today all India is very happy but England lost at the cricket. You need to play happy music, sir. You can have 10 rupees."

India's security during this World Cup seems to have owed as much to the mood of the local police than the tensions inherent in a particular match.

For all Javed's goading and beckoning, his magic has waned. Six World Cups, a record that might never be beaten, proved one too many.

Indian security during this World Cup seems to have owed as much to the mood of the local police than the tensions inherent in a particular match.

There were several heroes to salute: Navroz Siddiqi, the 20-year-old left-hander who scored 89 from 116 balls and became the first Indian to score a century in a World Cup match.

Table with 10 columns: Player, Runs, Balls, 50s, 100s, etc. Includes names like S. Jayasinghe, M. Sahay, and A. Ranatunga.

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India's winning of the first Test in Bangalore

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Samuels in luck for the Bucks

Samuels, who has lost his place as England's shooting guard in the past month, may have helped him on Saturday night when he stole a win for the Derby Bucks with a basket hurled in from the half-way line.

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Weekend results

Soccer

FIFA CUP

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ENGLISH LEAGUE

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SCOTTISH CUP

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SPANISH LEAGUE

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GOAL

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WELSH WOMEN'S CUP

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Ice Hockey

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Alpine Skiing

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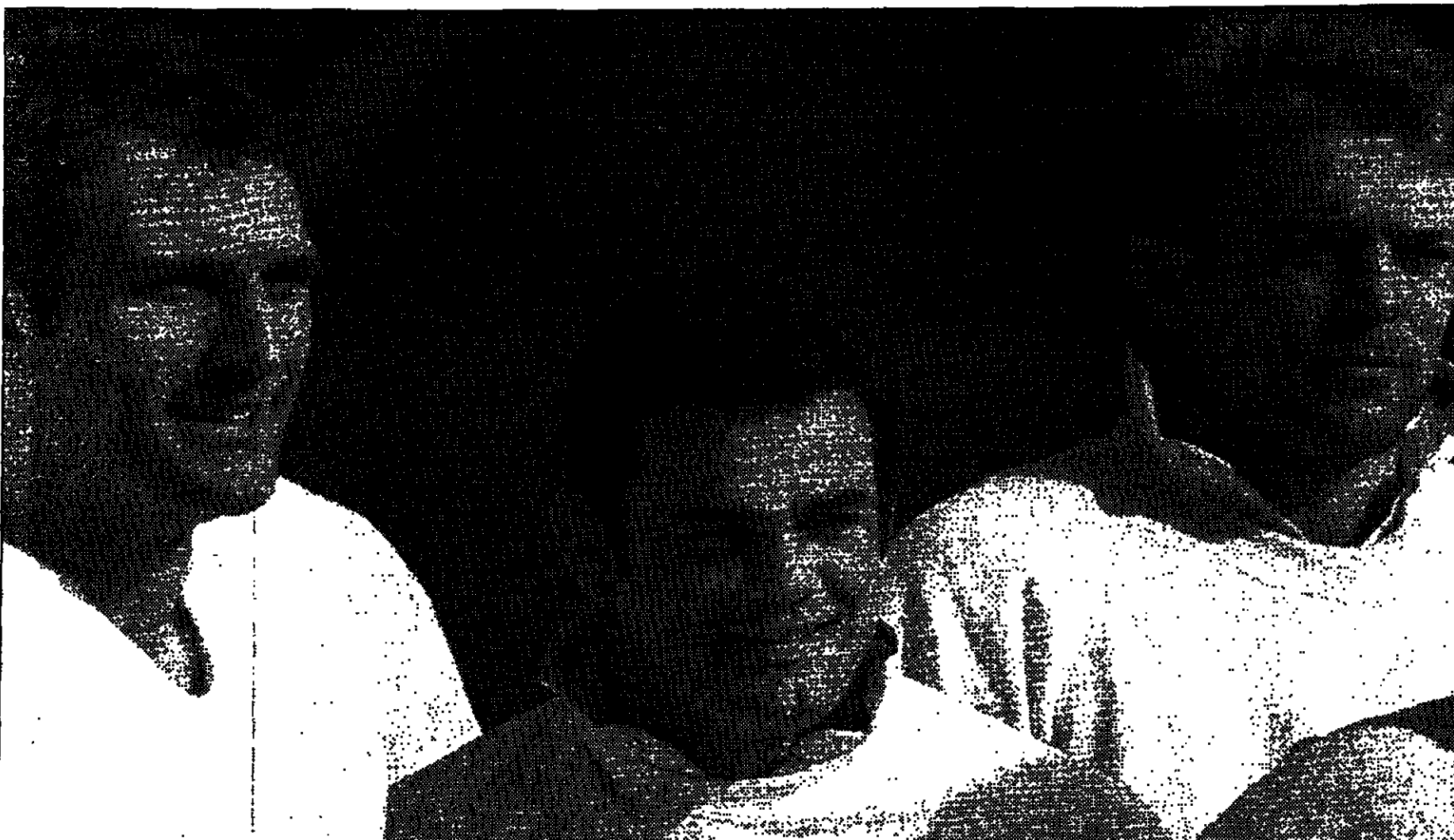
Hill takes grand prix opener, page 12
Keating on Carling, page 13

Ladejo holds on to title, page 12
Shoot-out at White Hart Lane, page 14

SportsGuardian

TWICKENHAM SEEKS A NEW FACE. ATHERTON LINGERS. ILLINGWORTH VOWS TO FIGHT

England facing leadership crisis



The king is going... so halt two of the pretenders for the captaincy as Wasps' Lawrence Dallaglio, left, and Tim Rodber of Northampton flank Will Carling. PHOTOGRAPH FRANK BARON

Carling hands off the gossip columns to say why he quit

Robert Armstrong

IT SPEAKS volumes for Will Carling's dysfunctional relationship with Jack Rowell that the England manager was the last man in the Twickenham hierarchy to be told of Carling's decision to retire as England captain after next Saturday's championship match against Ireland. Rowell learned about Carling's plans only on Saturday, two days after the RFU secretary Tony Hallett and the president Bill Bishop received calls from the captain about his imminent stand-down. Even the Mail on

Sunday, to which Carling contributes a ghosted column, knew before Rowell.

When Carling spoke to the world's media yesterday, appropriately enough at Twickenham's Spirit of Rugby restaurant, he made three separate references to the "enjoyable" nature of his working relationship with the former England manager Geoff Cooke — but not a single positive remark about his two years with Rowell, who was not present.

Last week Carling told friends that Rowell had recently accused him and his agent Jon Holmes of orchestrating a media campaign to

have him (Rowell) ousted from his job as manager.

Naturally Carling's private life has come under close scrutiny as offering a possible key to his change of heart about the captaincy at a time when his form has never been better. Had the combined pressure of paying court to the Princess of Wales, handing off Rowell and being petitioned for divorce finally sapped Carling's will to carry on?

The gossip columnists were doomed to a series of distinctly low-key sound bites from the England captain. "Surely, Will, there must be a private reason for giving it

up?" wailed one female reporter to no avail.

Instead Carling, who leads England for the 69th time in 96 internationals on Saturday, insisted that his chief motive for stepping down after eight seasons in charge was his desire to concentrate on improving his own performance as an England centre.

"I think England need to appoint a captain to lead the side into the next World Cup anyway and I cannot guarantee that I will still want to be around by then," he explained. "I do know that I would like to play on for England without having the extra responsibility of captaincy."

"I've talked to Jon Holmes, Geoff Cooke and a lot of other people whom I respect and I took the decision to step down last Tuesday. I warned some in advance and I told the players what I was doing at the team hotel on Saturday. Perhaps I've been playing well

because I knew from early in the season what I was going to do."

Some players were surprised that Carling chose to announce his decision now rather than after the Ireland match, in which victory would secure England the Triple Crown and possibly the Five Nations Championship. But the England captain maintained that the squad could now focus on producing a good performance without being distracted by speculation on his future as captain.

"I've always wanted England to be successful and to be respected around the world and I'll go on wanting that just as a player," said Carling. "I had a high admiration for Geoff Cooke. There were many highlights in my time with him and I enjoyed helping England win three Grand Slams, especially the first one in 1991."

Rory Underwood, an established England player when Carling became captain in 1989, welcomed his decision to play on next season. "Will is a tremendous player, strong, forceful and a good passer of the ball," he said. "It was a shock when he was appointed skipper as a 22-year-old, just establishing himself in the side, but he went on to achieve a fantastic amount for England. In 10 years people will look back at his record and think 'God, he must have enjoyed himself'."

Carling believes that a number of credible candidates are available to succeed him as captain but no appointment is likely to be made by the RFU this season as England have no summer tour to fulfil this year.

Ben Clarke, the Bath No. 8, has already been installed as favourite to take over, possibly next autumn provided Rowell remains the manager. Another candidate could be Lawrence Dallaglio, the new Wasps captain, and Phil de Glanville and Tim Rodber could make a strong claim if they can win regular places in the side.

Atherton wants time to think

Mike Selvey in Faisalabad

WHILE Mike Atherton, defeated but not despondent, pattered around yesterday packing his bags to go home, Raymond Illingworth vowed to fight to keep his job as England's chairman of selectors.

Atherton wants time "to reflect" in the wake of World Cup elimination and a generally depressing winter as captain but Illingworth will not resign. "They tell me there is a lobby at home to get rid of me but I would like to carry on this summer," he said.

"If the counties put forward other people to be chairman, then there will have to be a vote and I am prepared to defend my corner. I've put myself out for them. I said I didn't want to go on tour any more but, when I was approached last year, I agreed to do so this winter. I will be very disappointed if all the results over the past nine months are not assessed."

Atherton would be disappointed, too, but the mauling suffered by his side at the hands of Sri Lanka meant that for the first time England failed to reach the World Cup semi-finals. He cherishes the captaincy but knows that accountability comes with the job. Losing, not just to Sri Lanka but to each of the Test-playing countries they faced in this tournament, is a prelude to calls for his head.

While hoping that a long winter will be judged on its entirety rather than its frenetic end, he said yesterday: "Any decision about the captaincy is not up to me, unless I am asked to carry on and do not wish to do so. Those things are decided at home."

"I am going home for 10 days before Lancashire's pre-season trip to Jamaica and I shall mull things over. I would be disappointed if others judged me and the side totally on the World Cup and will not be making any rash, hasty decisions."

Opinion had been turning against Atherton before England even arrived for the World Cup in the wake of defeat in the final Test of the winter in Cape Town and the 6-1 whipping in the one-day series that followed. The

flames were fanned when England lost their opening World Cup match to New Zealand and then played ordinarily against the Emirates and Holland.

Atherton agreed that England's World Cup preparations were not best served by the tournament coming so soon after an arduous tour. "We had players who had been three months in South Africa and were not as fresh as they ought to have been. Dominic Cork bowled his rocks off out there and look what has happened to him."

"That, though, is down to itineraries. Our failure is primarily due to the nature of the game and batting which has not functioned as a unit all winter. It is something we look at all the time and need to do so in future. Our batsmen have to stand up and be counted because these are experienced players."

"Within its limitations our bowling has served us well. Cork has been superb and Peter Martin has done a really good job. Apart from the Wanderers, where they got 400, I never felt that South Africa got away from us and the bowlers did a good job on unhelpful pitches here."

"Certainly fielding is now a vital part of the game and it cost us the first match in Ahmedabad. But the fascinating thing is how the one-day game has moved on in the past four years. The way sides like Sri Lanka have revolutionised the first 15 overs creates enormous headaches for a captain. Conventional spin out of the window with bowlers at the start bowling as if at the death, field placements that defy the norm, and regular bowling changes to try to disrupt the batting side's rhythm."

Atherton harked at the thought — as did Illingworth — that going out of the competition so soon would act as a catalyst for productive change at home and that winning might have hampered a necessary revamp.

"I can't believe that," he said. "It would have been the greatest possible boost to English cricket to have won. I know I would prefer to be there holding the cup in a week's time, the packing now for a flight home."

So Atherton goes, leaving Illingworth to say: "I knew it wouldn't be an easy job but I'm always an optimist. As long as players are giving 100 per cent I'll go along with them. The only thing I can't stand is people who lie down and die. I've had no complaints on that score."

Illingworth's two-year term as chairman ends on March 31, as does his 12-month appointment as team manager. "I'm not going to hang myself if they get rid of me," he said.

FA Cup, sixth round: Leeds United 0, Liverpool 0

Caution spoils the brew

Cynthia Bateman

SOMEBODY forgot to put in the wicket: it was like hanging over the bar expecting a glistening pint and having an egg nog stuck under your nose. Just what Leeds thought they might gain from being so cautious at home is unclear. If they could not find the boldness to take on Liverpool in their own backyard, they are unlikely to ambush them at Anfield.

Unless Howard Wilkinson has a surprise up his sleeve, all they appear to have done is delay the inevitable until a week on Wednesday, although he may have stalled in the hopes that Speed and Dorjgo, both injured, will be back by then.

Liverpool occasionally swept up the pitch like a winter gust but ended swirling and eddying and out of puff against a Leeds defence rarely found with its skirt over its head. Nearly 20 minutes had gone before Collymore had the first of half a dozen long-range shots comfort-

ably saved by Lukic. Neither goalkeeper was called on even to stretch his mind let alone his muscles during the 90 minutes.

James gave Leeds a chance when he dropped the ball from a corner but no Leeds player was lurking to take advantage. Seconds earlier Worthington, the best player on the pitch, went close with an angled shot after the Northern Ireland defender had combined with Yeboah. Seb, guarding the near post, turned it aside.

Keeps that either manager might drop something into the half-time tea to bring the game to life proved in vain, as the game only deteriorated into unforced errors.

"I said at half-time: 'Let's make it exciting. Let's lie down and let Liverpool score three and they will go home laughing,'" said Wilkinson afterwards, heavy with sarcasm towards his critics.

Liverpool's best early chance after the interval came when Worthington, trying to chase Lukic's throw out, fell over to give

Collymore possession. His cross looked dangerous but, as it sailed over the defenders, the linesman's flag went up to rule the predatory Fowler offside.

And that seemed to sum up the sorry story of the match. Only McManaman managed to raise the blood pressure with a fierce shot from marginally outside the area on the hour, just a coat of paint wide.

Deane was sent on for Broolin 15 minutes before the end and Redknapp for the limping Barnes six minutes from time, but these changes failed to sway the balance.

Those who had refused to pay for even the cheapest seats — at £19 only a pound more expensive than tickets for Leeds' Coca-Cola Cup final — can congratulate themselves on having made the right decision.

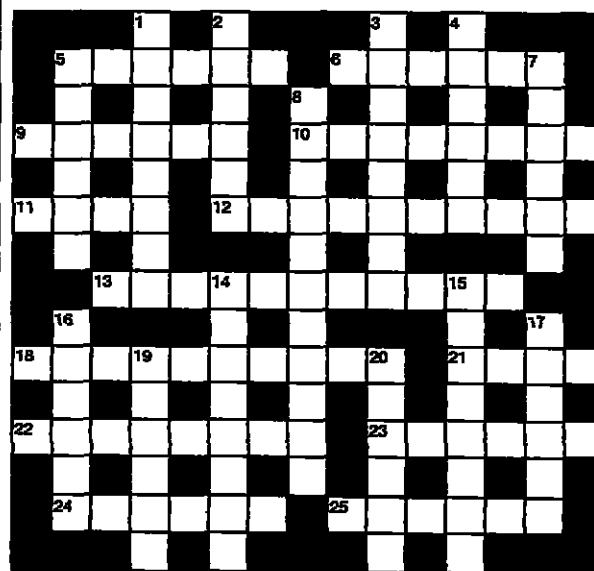
Leeds United: Lukic, Padiabe, Westwood, Beakley, Worthington, Kelly, Ford (Garry), Smith, McAllister, Palmer, Grollin (Deane, 70), Yeboah.

Liverpool: James, Wright, Gosden, Bates, Jones, McAtee, McManaman, Thomas, Barnes (Redknapp, 84), Collymore, Fowler, Nuttall, D. Galtschak (Sanbury).

Photograph, page 14

Guardian Crossword No 20,597

Set by Crispa

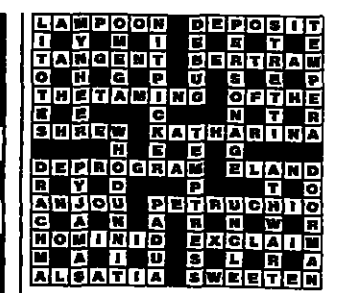


Across

- 5 Press left will get a scoop (6)
- 6 The endless stream causes a sensation (8)
- 9 Hound the fool getting into punt (6)
- 10 Inattentive, having no schedule (8)
- 11 Tackle retreating soldiers for example (4)
- 12 The outcome is sure. Toll on (10)
- 13 Variety of salt fish — see price (11)
- 18 One can get intoxicated on non-alcoholic drink, and here's proof! (10)
- 21 Look for sound support (4)
- 22 Set down letters in error — simplest mistake to make (6)
- 23 No way-out counsel (6)
- 24 A vessel with room for food preparation (6)

Down

- 1 Cheats honest? Explain that! (8)
- 2 The wise man takes no rest (6)
- 3 He had a model mother (6)
- 4 The grain being bad, had a meeting about it (6)
- 5 Sellers may be seen around after midnight (6)
- 7 So slim, supple and fit (6)
- 8 Cash remains — cash in contention repeatedly — to get torches (11)
- 14 On reflection they're helpful to motorists (4-4)
- 15 Offering a suggestion to the personnel officer (6)
- 16 Many a band shows great boldness (6)
- 17 Heard as ever in the London area (6)



WINNERS OF PAST CRISPA CROSSWORDS
This week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are G. & G. I. Bolton of Church Street, Shropshire; P. Burton of Southill, Middlesex; Mike Hall of Cardiff; Pembrokehire, M. Knight of Bramley, Yorkshire; and D. McAulay of Little Haywood, Staffordshire.

19 Simply lie — say fault developed (5)

26 Some eight went, yet there's still a fair number (8)

Solution tomorrow

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G2 page 4